The Christian East

EDITORIAL

THE WORK OF LAUSANNE

AS we write the diplomats at Lausanne are busy with a thrilling game. It is a game to their taste—"Give and take"; "take and give." Great issues are involved—political, social, economical. The result in the play of forces will be fixed largely by the skill of the individual negotiators.

Who will be master of the Straits? Will Soviet Russia be able to shut tight the Bosphorus with a Kemalist lock and to turn the Black Sea into a Bolshevik lake? Will the Kemalists be placed in Constantinople as the spear-head of the Communist army which is to invade Capitalist Europe? Will France be able to exact those lucrative Anatolian concessions for which M. Franklin-Bouillon bargained at Angora? Will the Hearst Press secure the substitution of Turkish ownership for British trusteeship at Mosul, and the exploitation of the great oil wells by its subventing trusts? Will Signor Mussolini secure ample and substantial satisfaction for Italian dignity and Italian appetite? Will the Vatican wrest the effective control of the Holy Places from its immemorial holders? Will the Bulgars get a foothold on the Ægean?

These vast interests depend upon the skill and the personality of the individuals who sit at the Council tables of the Conference, or meet to chat and fraternize in the hotels and *couloirs* at Lausanne. Over-subtlety here, a morning's irritability there, a little frankness that is indiscreet, a little honesty that is unwise, a bit of trickery that is over-grasping, and the consequences will be writ large in the Peace Treaty which is to fix the map of the Near East and to settle the destiny of the world. If Angora makes Ismet talk too loudly, if M. Chicherin becomes over-rude and domineering, if Lord Curzon fails for a moment in his marvellous dignity and patience, if M. Venizelos forgets his wisdom, if M. Stambulisky raises his voice too much, the Conference may fail and a new World War begin.

It would be idle to declare that the various objectives for which the different nations are contending at Lausanne are trivial. Patently they are of tremendous importance, and each nation engaged in the diplomatic struggle has, from its own necessity or from its own principles, good justification for struggling to reach its own end. None the less, against them one and all, against the British Empire no less if no more than any other of the European States, the pitiable indictment stands that none of them puts the first thing first. The peace and prosperity of the world depend, no doubt, on the hoped-for provisional solution of Near Eastern

problems—military, political, economic, social, territorial. Every wise student of affairs agrees with that proposition. But the humanitarian problem transcends all such problems. No one, however, at Lausanne—unless, indeed, it be Lord Curzon—can be suspected of demanding for his nation as its first interest that the lives and elementary rights of the ancient Christian people of the Ottoman dominions—and especially of the great Christian majority in Constantinople—should receive effective guarantees. It would almost seem that much though abstract sentiment may make such guarantees desirable, the Governments of Europe are, each and all of them, satisfied that to obtain them is not their own interest, and therefore not their particular duty. There is no need to worry about the Christian minorities of Turkey, say France and Italy. That question will settle itself.

This comfortable confidence is not shared by the British people, which, in spite of the suppression of facts by the bulk of the London Press, is moved instinctively with an uneasy apprehension, well warranted no less by the little which it is allowed to know of current events than by the past.

What has happened in the Near East since our last issue? There has, indeed, been no great achievement of the Kemalists to parallel the sack of Christian Smyrna, which, as the new Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. R. McNeill, told the House of Commons on the 27th ult., was incontestably fired by Turkish soldiers. All the same, Mustapha Kemal has pressed on with drastic energy to complete the Turkification of Asia Minor. The half-million or so Christians who remained in the villages and towns of that ruined and desolate country have been given, either by direct order or indirect hint, a short, sharp month in which to get out of their native land. That is to say, if the old men, women, and children have strength to reach the sea ports and ships are available to take them away, they have leave to make good their flight before the sword falls on them. The able-bodied men have been drafted off to the "white death" and slavery of labour battalions, past experience of which shows that few will survive the hardships of the winter. Among the exiles are those women and children who survived the holocaust of Smyrna, and whom individual Turks have not thought it worth while to retain for their personal service and pleasure. Very pitiful are the tales of the gaunt and emaciated survivors of the parties which, starting, say, 10,000 in number, dwindled, under hardship and pillage, to 2,000 before they reached the ships at Samsun or Trebizond.

On the other hand, nearly the whole Christian population of Thrace has wisely preferred the indescribable suffering, physical and mental, involved in abandoning its homes, and has taken refuge on the other side of the Maritza. The hunger, sickness, and other privations which they are there enduring have been made known to us by the appeal of the relief agents, but at least they are safe from the rapine and murder which are taking place in Asia Minor.

Meanwhile, events have moved quickly in Constantinople. Under pretext of passing through to Thrace, Refet Pasha came to the great Christian city soon after the Mudania Armistice. Once there, he has stopped there, and bit by bit, thanks to dissensions among the High Commissioners of the

Entente, has taken control into his hands. The censorship, the post, the telegraph, all means of communication except on the part of the nationals of European States, above all, the police are in his hands. The Turkish rabble of Stambul has been armed and is being reinforced by a daily infiltration of butchers from the heroic army which sacked Smyrna. The scene is thoroughly well staged, and Europe may wake any morning to hear of a Greek or Armenian "conspiracy" or of a provoked and punitive massacre of the defenceless mass of Christians who have dared to remain in the city. If the signal for raising the curtain on that drama is delayed, and if Refet is contenting himself with arresting, trying, and hanging individuals, it is only because Allied troops are still inconveniently present in Constantinople, and because a massacre there would have signal reactions at Lausanne. Given time and a treaty which closes the Dardanelles to European warships, abolishes the capitulations, and leaves the Turk master to exercise his will on his Christian "nationals"—or given a complete breakdown of the Conference—and the Kemalist policy stands to be executed as fully as it was in Smyrna.

Delay is irritating, but patience is clearly the Turk's wisdom of the day in Constantinople. Is not *yavash*—slowly—his natural principle? Nothing can be done until the British are out of Constantinople.

Waiting through these dragging days must be hard for the Turk. That he has possessed his patience until now is due to the fact that a Turkish mob or army never gets to the work of plunder and massacre without permission from above. Even the banditti waited four days for Nur-ed-Din at Smyrna. Accordingly, in the absence of a signal from Angora, nothing except the sharpening of knives and the weighting of clubs has happened as yet at Constantinople. Nothing indeed may happen, even when Kemal enters Stambul, if Europe assembled at Lausanne only makes him understand that a repetition of his exploit at Smyrna will be followed by swift and certain retribution.

That the danger of a catastrophe has grown not less but greater, and is as substantial as any such danger can ever be, is manifest and admitted.

The "treason" trials and hangings of Moslems which have begun in Thrace serve to illustrate Turkish desires in regard to the Greek and Armenian. That there is no reticence is evident from the visit paid the Phanar early in November by a Stambul mob, which, aware that the time for more was not ripe, withdrew after riddling the doors of the Patriarchate with revolver shots, but promised to return and deal with the Patriarch Smyrniate fashion.

What is preparing, and what is expected to happen, may be gathered by the appeal to the Christian Churches of the Jugo-Slav Patriarch Dmitri, who, like all his countrymen, has an inherited aptitude to understand the Turk. If further evidence and further warning be needed, they are given in the straight speech of the Note, addressed on December 4 to the Lausanne Conference, by the Vatican, which, tardy though it be in date, will be welcomed by the civilized world. It runs:

"The Holy See receives daily from Constantinople news of an increasingly alarming character. Christians are panic-stricken, and many are leaving the town, but many cannot. Those who wish to go out of the town must

first undertake in writing not to return. The property of absentees is sequestrated. The possessions of Europeans, and particularly of religious congregations, are in great danger. The arrival of irregular bands of outlaws is feared, with all its disastrous consequences. Armenians, who have been unable to escape, find themselves particularly exposed to dangers, and are terror-stricken. In reporting this state of things to the Conference, which has assembled at Lausanne for the re-establishment of peace in the Near East, the Holy See asks with insistence, in the name of humanity, that the most prompt and effective steps be taken to reassure these populations who have already suffered so much."—*Daily Telegraph*, December 1, 1922.

"To reassure these populations"! How does it come that any Christians remain in Constantinople under the imminent and increasingly plain threat of extermination?

Partly, no doubt, because flight by land is impossible, and because no steps are available to transport three-quarters of a million human beings in a few weeks. As it is, 3,000 fugitives have sailed from Constantinople on an average every day for the past two months.

The absence of panic, however, among the Greeks is largely due to the sublime and wonderful courage of a single man, the Œcumenical Patriarch Meletios IV.

When the Mudania surrender was signed, insistent advice—strong pressure, we might say—was put on the Patriarch to induce him to withdraw to Mount Athos. In view of the importance of his life to the whole Orthodox Church, and to the fact, as the Bishop of Gibraltar has put it, that except the Sultan no man in Constantinople would be in such danger as he, many of his friends in this country urged him to do so.

"I will only go," he is reported to have answered, "when the last of my people is gone, and I will only go if by my departure I do not jeopardize the rights of the Patriarchate. Nor, if I stay, will I accept an amnesty for myself which is not accompanied by a full amnesty for every member of my flock."

And so, well knowing the personal risk he runs and has always run in Constantinople—our readers will remember how, when he reached the Phanar in February last for his enthronization, he knelt in silent prayer at the closed door where Gregory V. was hanged—he decided to stay, and forbade his people to give way to panic. That is why, while the majority of the Armenians of Constantinople are now in safety, only a small minority of the Greeks have left the city.

It is a big risk which Meletios IV. determined to run. Who shall say that he is not justified?

At any rate, Lord Curzon is said to have won M. Poincaré to the view that however Kemal may rage or M. Franklin-Bouillon complain, the Allies shall insist at Lausanne that the Greeks remain in Constantinople under other than paper guarantees, or, that if that be not carried, they shall be evacuated in an orderly and peaceful fashion before the Allies leave the city. Even so, the courage of a single man may yet save the Mother City of Eastern Christianity from being altogether Turkified.

But whatever may be the effect of his self-devotion, Meletios IV. is in no

delusion as to the threat which hangs over him. The speech which he made when recently the Bishop of Gibraltar presented him with a pastoral staff, formed of ancient British oak, shows us the man as we know him. His words were plain and undaunted. Thus:

My Lord Bishop—Your presence and your words lighten in a measure the burden which presses upon my heart. Assuredly, my brother, you have come at a good season to this Capital City of Eastern Christianity, in order to understand at first hand the greatness of the catastrophe which has befallen.

The wonderful Orthodox communities of Pontus, Galatia, and Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia, to which the Apostle Peter wrote, have ceased to exist. The Galatians, Ephesians, and Colossians, who had held fast the traditions which they learned from the preaching and the letters of the Apostle Paul, have ceased to exist.

Those Seven Apostolic Churches of Smyrna, Ephesus, Philadelphia, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, and Laodicea, to which the Evangelist John sent his Book of the Apocalypse, have been wiped from the face of the earth. And the Angel of the Church of Smyrna, our Brother Chrysostom, faithful to the charge given him by the Holy Spirit to be "faithful to the death," has received "the crown of life."

In a word, the Christianity of Asia Minor with which your Church of England in the person of its first organiser Theodore had so vital a connection has been altogether blotted out in our days.

The fires of Smyrna have lit with their flare that great tract of land in which lie the bones of two million and more martyrs who have perished in agony in their witness for Jesus. And to fill the cup of our great affliction for Asia, we now have news of the intense suffering in Thrace, which has been left a wilderness by the exile of its Christian people. These unhappy souls have been compelled to quit the land in which lie buried the bones of their fathers. The victors of the Great War have demanded that it should be so, and that Thrace should be altogether Turkish. . . . But praise be to God in all things.

This staff which you have brought me comes at a seasonable time. Indeed, I have need to lean upon it in these hours in which my steps grow heavy through the greatness of my burden. With all my heart I return the truly brotherly salutation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, my well-beloved and true brother in Christ, Randall.

Tell the Christians of the West that we Christians of the East, "who still live and remain," are sore pressed and broken, but that we bear no grudge against them for our desertion by their Governments. For a last word, I pray: May our Lord, the Faithful Witness, shower His blessings on the English Church for its sympathy with us in our martyrdom.

Let Christian England lay those words to heart.

If the name of Meletios IV. is to be added to the long roll of the martyrs of the great Church of Constantinople, he will go down with the Flag of the Cross flying.

If, in spite of the desperate odds, his constancy wins safety for his people and preserves the life of the Patriarchate, his will be an honoured name among those who have dared everything to confess the Faith of Christ.

We are not sanguine as to the issue at Lausanne, and we have grave fears as to what will happen in Constantinople, but we applaud the heroism of the Patriarch, his Synod, and his people.

CONSTANTINOPLE AND ANGLICAN ORDERS

WE append the letter in which the Archbishop of Canterbury replied to the letter of the Œcumenical Patriarch which appeared in the September CHRISTIAN EAST, together with the Greek translation, which was published in *Ekklesiastike Aletheia* of 17/30 September:

"LAMBETH PALACE,
"*September* 15, 1922.

"MOST REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

"I have for some weeks been travelling, and it is possible that there has been some uncertainty about letters which I have written. Accordingly I wish now afresh to say to Your Holiness again with what deep and heartfelt satisfaction I received the very important letter which your Holiness addressed to me on July 28 respecting the conclusion reached by Holy Synod of the Primatial Throne of the Orthodox Churches respecting the validity of Anglican ordination. It is to me a cause of thankfulness to know of this important recognition on your part of the ordination held in our English Church and in the Churches of our Communion, and I pray God together with Your Holiness that this act of fraternal love and recognition may abound in the fruitfulness of peace, and may knit with ever-increasing closeness the great Churches over which you and I respectively preside. . . .

"With the assurance of brotherly love and of our constant prayers,

"I remain,

"Your Holiness' faithful brother in our Lord Jesus Christ,

"(Signed) RANDALL CANTUAR."

Translation of above:

". . . Γράφω καὶ πάλιν διὰ νὰ εἴπω εἰς τὴν Ὑμετέραν Παναγιότητα μετὰ πόσης ἐγκαρδίου εὐχαριστήσεως ἐλαβα τὴν σπουδαιοτάτην ἐπιστολὴν τὴν ὁποίαν ἡ Ὑμετέρα Παναγιότης μοὶ ἔστειλεν εἰς τὰς 15/28 Ἰουλίου ἀναφορικῶς πρὸς τὴν ἀπόφασιν, ἣν ἔλαθεν ἡ Ἁγία καὶ Ἱερὰ Σύνοδος τῆς Πρωτοθρόνου τῶν Ὀρθοδόξων Ἐκκλησιῶν διὰ τὸ ἔγκυρον τῶν Ἀγγλικανικῶν χειροτονιῶν. Πράγματι εὐγνωμονῶ μαθὼν τὴν σπουδαίαν ταύτην ὑφ' Ὑμῶν ἀναγνώρισιν τῶν χειροτονιῶν τῶν γενομένων τόσον εἰς τὴν Ἀγγλικὴν ἡμῶν Ἐκκλησίαν ὅσον καὶ εἰς τὰς Ἐκκλησίας τῶν δοξασιῶν ἡμῶν ἐν γένει. Μετὰ τῆς Ὑμετέρας δὲ Παναγιότητος εὔχομαι εἰς τὸν Ὕψιστον, ὅπως ἡ ἔνδειξις αὕτη ἀδελφικῆς ἀγάπης καὶ ἀναγνωρίσεως ἀποβῇ εὔφορος καὶ εἰρηνοποιὸς καὶ συντελέσῃ εἰς τὴν ὁλονὲν αὐξάνουσαν προσέγγισιν τῶν Μεγάλων Ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν ὁποίων ἀμφότεροι προϊστάμεθα . . ."

THE METROPOLITAN EVLOGIOS

Our frontispiece this number is a portrait of the Right Rev. the Metropolitan Evlogios, Archbishop of Volhynia, and was taken recently in Paris, where he resides. Born in the Toula Government on April 10/23, 1868, Basil Georgievsky showed singular piety and aptitude in early boyhood, and, having completed his studies in the famous Academy of Moscow, was awarded the degree of B.D. in 1892. Appointed Head Master of the Efremovsky Ecclesiastical School in 1893, he moved on to the Ecclesiastical Seminary at Toula in 1894, and there took the veil in 1895, adopting the name Evlogios, being ordained priest on February 12/25, and becoming Inspector of the Vladimir Ecclesiastical Seminary. Being made an Archimandrite in 1897, he served as Rector of the Ecclesiastical Seminary at Holm until 1902, when he was consecrated Bishop of the See of Lublin on December 5/18. In these various offices he had shown conspicuous administrative gifts, and no one was surprised when, in 1905, he was translated to the See of Holm, or that he was made a member of the second State Duma in 1905 and of the third in 1907. In 1912 he was raised to the dignity of Archbishop, and in 1914 transferred to the important See of Volhynia, in which diocese his untiring efforts to protect the Church and his people made him particularly hated by the Bolsheviks, in whose hands he was actually a prisoner in 1919, his life being saved and his liberation effected only by the energetic action of the Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1920 he was appointed Head of all the Russian Churches (congregations) in Western Europe, and on January 17/30, 1922, was raised by decree of His Holiness the Patriarch Tikhon to the rank of Metropolitan of all the Russian Orthodox Churches in Europe, thus becoming one of the seven Metropolitans of the Russian Church. He has visited London twice this year, first in April, when he came especially to make acquaintance with the Archbishop of Canterbury and to thank His Grace for his intervention on his behalf, and again in October in order to be present at the anniversary of the A. and E. A. On both occasions he pontificated at St. Philip's, Buckingham Palace Road, on the former the Bishop of Willesden, and on the latter Bishop Gore, who also preached the sermon, assisting. He also supported the Bishop of London, making a charming and significant speech, at the general meeting of the Association, of which he is a Patron, in the City Guildhall on October 25. He is expected to visit London again early next year. Among the distinctions which he holds are: The Order of St. Anna (first degree, 1908); the Order of St. Vladimir (third degree, 1904, second degree, 1911); rank of Archbishop, 1912; diamond cross on the head-dress (cowl), 1915; rank of Metropolitan, white head-dress and cross on the mitre, January, 1922.

THE SMYRNA HOLOCAUST

In a letter which dealt with the resignation of Mr. Lloyd George and the then approaching General Election, Lord Hugh Cecil wrote to the *Morning Post* on November 2 as follows:

"There is one other topic I do desire to press upon public opinion at this "moment; and that is, the duty of trying to do what may be possible to save "the Christian subjects in the Turkish dominions from cruelty and oppres- "sion. I read in a printed letter of Mr. J. A. Douglas, well known for his "interest in Eastern Christianity, the following extract:

"'Nur-ed-Din (the Turk in authority in Smyrna) . . . struck the Metro- "politan Chrysostom on the face, ordered his beard and hair to be plucked "out by the roots, and, bidding them make an example of him to show what "awaited Christian rebels against Islam, handed him over to the Turkish "rabble, which paraded him stripped through the streets and finally crucified "him, literally crucified him, outside his cathedral.'

"We often hear of Mohammedan 'susceptibilities,' of which I desire to "speak with the utmost possible respect. But I sometimes wonder whether "the Christians of Western Europe have any 'susceptibilities.' I wish they "had rather more. Imagine if, not a Christian Archbishop, but a British "General had been treated as the Metropolitan Chrysostom was. Suppose "that General Harington had been struck and stripped and paraded through "the streets and crucified outside his headquarters. How angry everyone "would have been! How prominent would have been the news of the out- "rage in the columns of the newspapers! How vehement the fine rhetoric "of just indignation in the leading articles! But when it is only a Christian "Archbishop no one seems to mind very much. I am afraid that British "people care much more about Britain than Christian people care about the "Christian Church. And in other Western countries the apathy seems even "greater than in our own. Our Bishops, I am glad to know, have made "strong representations to the Government. But I have not seen any men- "tion of any action by the French Bishops or the Italian Bishops, or by the "first Christian Bishop, his Holiness the Pope.[1] Perhaps, however, there "has been such action. It might not have been noticed in our Press or noticed "unobtrusively. There is so much other matter which interests newspaper "readers much more than the protests of Christian Bishops about the murder "of a Christian Bishop: there are our domestic political controversies, and "there is exciting intelligence about many kinds of sport.

"Some may say that it is indeed very terrible that Christians should be "exposed to such outrages, but we cannot save them. And there is much "truth in this. Nothing is more really cruel than to raise hopes in the "minds of the Eastern Christians which we cannot fulfil. Certainly any "remedy by force, even if such a thing were desirable, is quite out of the "question. For the use of force, unless overwhelming force, would but "aggravate the evil; and there is but little force available. Things are not "now as they used to be when the Russian Empire was a great Christian "Power. But something might be done diplomatically and something "financially. It is said that the Turkish Government will soon want money, "and money nowadays is only to be had in the United States and (in less "amount) in Great Britain. I earnestly hope that the Christian Govern- "ments of the United States and of Great Britain will make it quite clear "that they will give no facilities for financial help to the Turkish Govern- "ment, and will discourage their subjects from affording it unless that "Government first gives real and effective guarantees for the humane treat- "ment of its Christian subjects."

In the *Bristol Diocesan Gazette* for November, the Rev. W. Goodall, Commissary to the Bishop of Gibraltar, gives this extract from a letter written

[1] The Vatican has recently addressed a note to the Lausanne Conference (see p. 147).

by the Rev. W. P. Ashe in the *lazaretto* where, with his own family and his two fellow-Smyrniate chaplains and their families, he is housed in Malta:

"The magnitude of the disaster and the horror of the tragedy which centres round Smyrna is inexpressible. The short anguish of women and girls who first suffered dreadful dishonour, followed almost invariably by death, and of those thousands and tens of thousands of helpless people who were slaughtered in that vast shambles into which Smyrna was turned, before being burnt by the Turks, is hardly comparable in horror to the fate of the vast multitude who survive around Smyrna, Constantinople, and Chanak. Helpless, hapless, hopeless, a mass of human misery unimaginable! A multitude of starving, sick, and homeless people. One of my friends here spent an hour and a half searching among some three hundred corpses for the bodies of his wife and three children; happily he did not find them, for, after terrible adventures, they had succeeded in reaching the harbour and getting on board a British ship, where he found them. Another friend, a gentleman who was in charge of the British and Foreign Bible Society's Depot in Smyrna, was last seen standing on the quay distraught with an agony of apprehension, having become separated from and having lost his wife and children, and not knowing but that they had fallen into the hands of the ruthless murderers. Such details are those of which the vast horror consists. We Smyrna refugees have been snatched out of a veritable hell."

As Lord Hugh Cecil remarks, with a few splendid exceptions such as the *Church Times* and the *Daily Telegraph*, the London Press has been too busy with domestic politics, sport, and Old Bailey cases, to give much attention to the Smyrna holocaust. Indeed, our Turkophil and ultra-Francophil journals, which, in October, declared roundly that obviously no massacre had taken place at Smyrna, and that if the Armenians did not fire their own dwellings the Greeks fired them, have studiously avoided the subject. All the same, the British public, though less well informed in the matter, has come to realize that a stupendous crime has been perpetrated in the sight of European warships.

The Editorial in the October CHRISTIAN EAST gave a summary of what took place during the sack and burning of the great Christian City, and among other details gave the account of the martyrdom of the Metropolitan Chrysostom to which Lord Hugh Cecil refers. That account, which reached Mr. Douglas through two good independent channels, one of them not Greek, has been pooh-poohed by English Turkophils of the political order, it being even asserted that the Metropolitan is alive and in Athens.

For that reason, and because in the naked horror of the simple narrative it should be read for itself, it will be well that English readers should be in possession of a French account of what with their very eyes a French patrol saw done to the Metropolitan. That account is consistent with practically all the details—such as the parading, stripping, and crucifying—which we printed, and purports only to describe what Frenchmen actually witnessed. M. René Puaux gives this statement in his *La Mort de Smyrne*, Paris, 1922, p. 20 *et seq.*, "L'Assassinat de Mgr. Chrysostome. Témoignage décisif d'un Français":

"On a cherché à excuser les Turcs des horreurs commises à Smyrne en parlant de légitimes représailles pour les excès commis par l'armée grecque en retraite. On voit d'abord mal le rapport que peuvent avoir ces représailles qu'on cherche à légitimer ainsi, avec le massacre général des Arméniens et l'incendie du quartier arménien. Le prétexte de la grenade lancée lors de l'entrée des troupes est insuffisant, car l'auteur de l'attentat réussit à s'enfuir, si bien que son identité arménienne demeure problématique et d'autre part, l'officier n'ayant été que blessé, cela ne justifiait pas un carnage général.

"L'esprit sauvage des dirigeants turcs—au-dessus de tous les prétendus irréguliers qu'en désespoir de cause on charge de tous les méfaits—se révèle entièrement dans l'assassinat de Mgr. Chrysostome, l'éminent et vénérable archevêque grec de Smyrne. Le générale Nourreddine Pacha le fit chercher à la Métropole. Dès son arrivée, il le couvrit d'injures, lui reprocha son attitude philhellénique pendant l'occupation grecque, et lui signifia enfin que le tribunal révolutionnaire d'Angora l'avait depuis longtemps condamné à mort. Nourreddine ajouta qu'il ne lui restait plus qu'à le livrer au jugement de la populace.

"Mgr. Chrysostome fut alors jeté au milieu d'une foule musulmane en délire qui lui arracha la barbe, le poignarda et traina le cadavre écartelé jusque dans le quartier turc où il fut livré aux chiens.

"La presse française s'est abstenue de mentionner ces horribles détails. Bien mieux, profitant de l'équivoque de l'arrivée à Athènes de l'archevêque arménien qui avait réussi à échapper aux bourreaux, certains journaux ont affirmé triomphalement que Mgr. Chrysostome était sain et sauf et qu'il ne fallait attacher aucun crédit aux nouvelles tendancieuses, de source grecque, sur les atrocités commises à Smyrne. Ces mêmes journaux n'ont même pas daigné insérer la rectification qui leur fut officiellement adressée.

"C'est ainsi qu'on prétend écrire l'histoire et renseigner le public français. Mais il est des esprits sincères et justes qui ne craignent pas de proclamer la vérité. Ainsi, sommes-nous en mesure de reproduire le témoignage qu'un *protégé français*, M. M——, n'a pas craint de verser dans le dossier de cette douloureuse tragédie de Smyrne et, plus particulièrement, de l'odieux assassinat de Mgr. Chrysostome. Voici le document décisif de cet impartial témoin oculaire:

"'Le jeudi 7 septembre, les autorités grecques quittèrent Smyrne.

"'D'ordre du consul général de France à Smyrne, M. Graillet, une milice composée de citoyens et protégés français fut chargée de maintenir l'ordre et de veiller à la sécurité des habitants. Jusqu'à samedi matin, l'ordre régnait malgré l'absence d'autorités. Samedi 9 septembre, à 9 heures du matin, l'armée régulière turque faisait son entrée dans la ville. A 10 heures, au moment où les troupes turques défilaient par la rue Franque, l'officier se trouvant à leur tête s'arrêta pour demander la direction à prendre pour atteindre le quartier arménien. A ce moment même, M. Saman, habitant de Smyrne, qui se dirigeait vers l'église du Sacré-Cœur pour s'y réfugier, fut interpellé par un soldat (le troisième derrière l'officier) qui lui demanda l'heure. M. Saman ayant tiré sa montre, le soldat la lui arracha, le menaçant de sa baïonnette. Je protestai auprès de l'officier, mais celui-ci ce borna à donner aux troupes l'ordre d'avancer.

"'Une demi-heure après, un prêtre catholique italien, le père Scaliarino, vint m'avertir qu'il fallait se porter d'urgence au secours du métropolite grec, Mgr. Chrysostome, pour le mettre à l'abri du danger.

"'Une patrouille française, composée de vingt hommes que j'accompagnais avec un autre milicien, se rendit aussitôt à la métropole, pour prier Mgr. Chrysostome de venir s'installer au Sacré-Cœur ou au Consulat général de France. Mais Mgr. Chrysostome refusa, disant que, pasteur, il devait rester auprès de son troupeau. La patrouille sortait à peine de chez le

métropolite, lorsqu'une voiture, avec un officier et deux soldats turcs, baïonnette au canon, s'arrêta devant la métropole. L'officier monta chez le métropolite et lui donna l'ordre de le suivre chez le commandant de l'armée, Noureddin Pacha. Lorsque je vis emmener le métropolite, je conseillai à la patrouille de suivre la voiture. Nous arrivâmes devant la Grande Caserne où se trouvait le commandant d'armée général Noureddin. Le métropolite fut conduit par l'officier qui l'accompagnait devant celui-ci. Dix minutes après, il redescendait. Noureddin Pacha parut au même moment sur le balcon de l'édifice et, s'adressant aux quelque mille ou quinze cents musulmans, hommes et femmes, qui se trouvaient sur la place, leur déclara qu'il, leur livrait le métropolite, ajoutant: "S'il vous a fait du bien, faites-lui du bien, s'il vous a fait du mal, faites-lui du mal!" La populace s'empara aussitôt de Mgr. Chrysostome et l'emmena un peu plus loin devant la boutique du coiffeur Ismail, protégé italien, on l'arrêta et on lui passa ene blouse blanche de coiffeur. La foule commença aussitôt à le frapper à coups de poing et de bâton, à lui cracher à la figure. On le cribla de coups de couteau. On lui arracha la barbe, on lui creva les yeux, on lui coupa le nez et les oreilles.

"'A noter que la patrouille française assista jusqu'ici à cette scène. Les hommes (des marins) étaient hors d'euxmêmes et tremblaient littéralement d'indignation et voulaient intervenir, mais conformément aux ordres reçus, l'officier qui les conduisait leur défendit de bouger, le revolver au poing. Nous perdîmes ensuite de vue le métropolite qui fut achevé un peu plus loin.

"'Comme je descendais avec la patrouille vers le quartier européen, nous rencontrâmes une auto derrière laquelle était attaché par les pieds, sa tête traînant sur les pavés, M. Jurucdjoglou, directeur du journal *La Réforme*, véritable loque humaine.

"'Dans l'après-midi, les Turcs ayant prétendu que des grenades avaient été lancées contre les troupes par les Arméniens, je me rendis avec la même patrouille au quartier arménien.

"'Près de l'église arménienne Saint-Stephano, dans une ruelle, nous trouvâmes trois cadavres d'enfants de 5 à 8 ans, la tête sectionnée du corps. Quelques maisons plus loin, toute une famille de sept personnes avait été égorgée. Les femmes avaient les seins coupés.

"'En passant la rue Kénourio Machala, je vis de nombreux soldats et civils turcs en train de saccager et de piller des bijouteries. La bijouterie de M. Pierre Tius, sujet italien, celle de M. John Righo, sujet grec, et celle de M. Louis Armao, sujet grec, ainsi que sa maison, furent complètement dévalisées. Rue Madamachan et rue Franque, les magasins, y compris ceux appartenant à des citoyens français, tels que M. M. Tassi, et au citoyen italien Joseph Manousso, furent complètement pillés.

"'Dimanche, lundi et mardi, les massacres et le pillage continuèrent. Les magasins français de la rue Saint-Georges furent notamment dévalisés et saccagés.

"'Toutes ces violences étaient commises par les soldats réguliers et des civils turcs. Mercredi, à 11 heures du matin, le feu éclata au Club Arménien, près de la gare de Basma Hané. Deux officiers turcs, des bidons de pétrole à la main, entrèrent au Club Arménien. Cinq minutes après, la maison était en flammes. C'est à cette scène qu'assista miss Mills, directrice du Collège américain. Le feu fut mis également à l'hôpital arménien, qui se trouve dans le même quartier, par les nommés Kémal bey, ancien sergent-major de la place de Smyrne, et Kadri bey, également ancien sergent-major de la place de Smyrne. Les voitures d'arrosage de la municipalité de Smyrne furent utilisées pour incendier rapidement le quartier arménien. En effet, ces voitures, remplies d'essence et de pétrole au lieu d'eau, parcouraient toutes les rues en les arrosant, tandis que des hommes qui les suivaient avec des torches mettaient le feu. En quelques heures la ville était en flammes.

"'A 4 heures de l'après-midi, l'officier commandant le contre-torpilleur français *Tonkinois* me pria de l'accompagner au commissariat de police pour les passeports, afin d'obtenir l'envoi d'un agent de police pour la vérification des passeports des personnes qui attendaient pour s'embarquer sur la *Phrygie*.

"'Le commissaire de police répondit que c'était une grande faveur qu'il daignait nous faire, étant donné qu'il était en droit d'exiger que les passeports des Français fussent visés au commissariat.

"'L'embarquement commença aussitôt. La foule était énorme. Les deux officiers du *Tonkinois*, avec une patrouille de marins, et un officier turc, avec une patrouille turque, faisaient le service d'ordre et vérifiaient l'embarquement des réfugiés sur le quai.

"'Un Arménien protégé français fut tué d'un coup de baionnette devant nous.

"'Une foule immense de chrétiens amassée devant le Consulat de France réclamait la protection de la France. L'officier turc en question voulait faire chasser tout ce monde vers les quartiers en flammes. Les officiers français du *Tonkinois* s'y opposèrent. Une vive altercation s'ensuivit avec l'officier turc. Celui-ci, stimulé par les hordes turques qui cherchaient un prétexte pour massacrer les chrétiens amassés là, tira son revolver et abattit les deux officiers français. Une bagarre terrible et une vive fusillade eut lieu.

"'Les civils turcs et la patrouille turque tirèrent sur la foule des réfugiés et les marins français. De troupes américaines qui se trouvaient à proximité intervinrent, chassèrent les Turcs et rétablirent l'ordre.'"

Signé: JOSEPH M——.

THE CHURCH IN THE NEW EUROPEAN STATES

BY PROFESSOR N. GLUBOKOVSKY

THE Russian Orthodox Church in the frontier lands which have broken off from the Metropolis, or are torn from it by the senseless leaders of the ill-fated Russian Revolution, is experiencing great complications and anxious difficulties, which are increased by the facts that His Holiness the Patriarch Tikhon of Moscow has not uninterrupted intercourse with them, and now is deprived of all freedom of action, is forcibly removed from his rule, and that his substitutes (Metropolitans Benjamin of Petrograd and Agathangel of Yaroslavl) were not even allowed to take the reins of government, and were at once subjected to strict repressions.

Meanwhile, just these border-lands demanded special ecclesiastical guidance and control. They feel to a great degree the ephemeral character of their artificial independence, for which they have not the necessary resources in order to contend alone and without troubling their great neighbour, acting as a hindrance and barrier to it in various directions. Hence these border-lands, fearing to be inevitably absorbed, try to break all bonds of subordination to Russia, and aspire to complete separation from her in ecclesiastical relations. In this Finland

and Esthonia act with especial insistence. The former suffers from excessive Russophobia, and tries in every way to destroy all that is Russian in Finnish Orthodoxy, although this amounts to eliminating from it its concrete Orthodox content. Towards this is directed the direct and covert action of the Finnish Government, which does not hesitate to employ terroristic measures, even where it should rightly remain aside from purely confessional matters, for these do not at all regard civil relations. By its inspiration, at the Church Congress of 1921 there was accepted the introduction of the new Gregorian Kalendar for the Church services, and the Government hastened to confirm this decision, giving to it the quality of a generally obligatory State law which came into operation on a certain date. However, later it was ascertained, by communication with His Holiness the Patriarch, that this decree, as affecting the interests of the whole Catholic Orthodox Church, he himself could not sanction. There resulted a painful collision, causing great disturbance among the Orthodox. It would have seemed that the Government should at once have suppressed its legalization as being over-hasty, and not within its competency; but it began roughly to suppress all who, out of loyalty to their Patriarch, did not comply, and till now, with purely Finnish obstinacy, they repressively keep up this useless agitation, harmful to all, exceeding even the maliciousness of the Bolsheviks, who never oblige the Orthodox to use the new style in the Church services.

His Holiness Tikhon himself gave autonomy to the Finnish Orthodox Church, but the Government desired complete independence, and it pushes on along the path towards seizing autocephaly and a complete break with the Patriarch of Moscow. But for this there is not a sufficiently numerous hierarchy (not less than three Bishops), and therefore a Church Union of Finland, Esthonia, and Latvia was proposed, which in May, 1922, called a congress of representatives on this subject in Helsingfors. The object was not attained owing to the firmness of the Archbishops of Finland, Seraphim (Lukianov), and of Latvia (of Riga), John (Pommer), who refused to take part in this separatist conspiracy. But Finland continues its attempt, and has an ally of equal value to itself in Esthonia, which has been ecclesiastically self-willed in the Orthodox sphere from the very beginning of its mythical independence. Instead of the Bishop asked for the Patriarch appointed as Archbishop of Reval the proposed candidate, Alexander (Paulus), and the latter immediately after his consecration assumed the white cowl, which is the exclusive attribute of Metropolitan rank alone. In such a disposition Esthonia—where the president of the Church Synod is an Archpriest, the brother of the Esthonian Premier—gladly entered into the Finnish plan, and in the Church Congress in

May, 1922, it was decided: (*a*) to appoint an Esthonian priest of little education as Vicar (Suffragan) to be Archbishop of Finland; and (*b*) to proclaim unlimited autocephaly, for which there would then be (together with Esthonia) the obligatory three Bishops.

Archbishop Seraphim, quite soundly and reasonably, protested against both these points, which had no legal and virtual justification, and the Government is ready to accuse him of civil disloyalty and continues to seek autocephaly for the Orthodox Finnish Church, in spite of its head infringing on canonical hierarchal order. The matter is artificially referred to the judgment of the Œcumenical Patriarch, on whom it does not depend, but all try to take advantage of the misfortunes of His Holiness Tikhon, and, not desiring to await the free voice of the Russian Church, hasten to expose all the doubtfulness of their claims. The Patriarch Meletios of Constantinople will, of course, not fail to take account of these circumstances.

The question of the autocephaly of the Polish Orthodox Church has also been referred to him. It has called forth a great storm of reports, rumours, and censure, but in its essence it is much simpler and clearer. Poland comprises all the necessary elements for the establishment of autocephaly in the self-efficiency of the higher clergy, who can always complete its number by itself and need not apply for this to another Church (as is at present inevitable for Finland and Esthonia). Naturally, with all this, there is no direct necessity, so far, for the absolute establishment of autocephaly, and, in the present case, it is especially noticeable that the whole initiative comes from the Polish Government, which displays great energy in this matter and everywhere works ceaselessly for the independence of the Orthodox Church, while the dominant Catholic Church in Poland is in complete dependence on despotic and "infallible" Rome. It would seem that there was some exaggeration also in the actual means taken to create the desired circumstances for the establishment and confirmation of Orthodox autocephaly in Poland. Nevertheless, as regards principle, there has so far not been admitted any canonical legal infringement, and the matter is taking a fairly normal course. It is said that the Œcumenical Patriarch proposed to appoint a special Commission for the careful examination of the question on the spot, but this requires some little time. From this it is seen that the Patriarch is inclined to delay, rather than to haste, and therefore categorical assurance may be felt that all will be arranged calmly, canonically, and for the good of the Orthodox Polish Church, which undoubtedly may be autocephalous if only she be fully guaranteed in her independent existence by the dominant conviction of her leaders and members and if she receive the sanction of her Russian Metropolis.

Unhappily, the position of the Œcumenical Patriarch himself is

extremely dangerous, and there is the possibility that the necessity may arise for Kir Meletios to leave Constantinople. This greatly complicates the affairs of the whole of Œcumenical Orthodoxy, and is a fresh and tragic confirmation of the criminality of the Western Powers, which, by their shameful tolerance, have contributed to the triumph of atheistic Bolshevism and anti-Christian Kemalism, and brought about the threat of the ruin of the whole of Christian civilization. The disputes and intrigues even between the European allies foretell no good, and we can only pray: Veni Creator Spiritus.

POLAND

Memorandum of the Council of Twelve Orthodox Bishops of the Russian Patriarchate on the Institution of an Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the Warsaw Metropoly Forming now Part of the Polish State

AUGUST 20, 1922, were present at the Council: (1) Anthony, Metropolitan of Kieff and Galicia; (2) Eulogios, Metropolitan of the Russian Orthodox Churches in Western Europe; (3) Anastasios, Archbishop of Kishineff and Chotin; (4) Theophan, Archbishop of Poltava and Pereiaslav; (5) Theophan, Bishop of Kursk and Oboian; (6) Hermogen, Bishop of Ekaterinoslav and Novomoskovsk; (7) Gabriel, Bishop of Cheliabinsk and Troick; (8) Sergios, Bishop of the Black Sea Province and Novorossiysk; (9) Michael, Bishop of Alexandrovsk; (10) Damien, Bishop of Czaricin; (11) Benjamin, Bishop of Sebastopol; and (12) Seraphim, Bishop of Lubni.

Having taken note from the documents on the state of Church affairs in the Warsaw Metropoly, we decided unanimously: that the Autocephaly of the Orthodox Church in the Warsaw Metropoly, forming now part of the Polish State, was not to be sanctioned, for the following reasons:

1. By the laws of the Church, the autocephaly of any church can be brought about only with the sanction and blessing of the Church part of which it formerly constituted. The Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, Tikhon, had, however, pronounced himself decidedly against the autocephaly of the Orthodox Church in the Polish State.

To a request on the matter of the Warsaw Metropolitan George and the Bishop of Kremenetz, Dionisios, presented to him through the Polish representative in Moscow, Mr. Philippovich, the Patriarch replied in writing as follows:

"The holy canons of our Church foresee the possibility of autocephaly for different independent nations. If the Polish nation, having

recently received its independence as a nation, were of the Orthodox Creed, and demanded autocephaly for itself, we would not refuse this, but neither common sense nor our holy canons could sanction the granting of autocephaly to the Orthodox of different nationalities within the boundaries of the Polish State, and as a national and religious minority. We have already granted all that was possible to the Orthodox people in Poland—a liberal local-church autonomy."

2. It is necessary to have the sanction of the majority of Bishops for bringing about autocephaly. But the majority of the Bishops of the Orthodox Church in Poland, braving reprisals, oppose its autocephaly as a measure fatal to it as a local Church. Of the six bishops, only two—the Metropolitan George and the Bishop Dionisios—have given their consent to the autocephaly, and four are decidedly against it: (1) Elevtherios, Archbishop of Lithuania and Vilna; (2) Vladimir, Bishop of Bielostok, who has jurisdiction over the Grodno Diocese; (3) Panteleimon, Bishop of Pinsk and Novogrudsk; (4) Sergius, Bishop of Bielsk, who has jurisdiction over the Cholm Diocese.

Bishops Panteleimon (a Pole by birth) and Sergios were deprived of their thrones without trial for their brave upholding of the unity of the Russian Patriarchate. The first is imprisoned in a monastery, the second banished from Poland.

3. The clergy and laity are against autocephaly. Resolutions to that effect were passed at (*a*) an assembly of representatives of the Orthodox parishes of all Poland in Warsaw, September, 1921; (*b*) at the diocesan congress of clergy and parishioners of Volhynia, at the Pochaev Lavra, October, 1921; (*c*) and (*d*) at the diocesan assembly of Lithuania and Grodno, June-July, 1922. Only two small dioceses could not express their opinion in their diocesan assemblies: (1) the newly-constituted Pinsk-Novogrudsk Diocese, because deprived of its chief pastor-bishop; and (2) the Diocese of Cholm, because ruined by Roman Catholics. Out of 330 Orthodox parishes of this diocese there remain now 26; the rest are abolished, and the greater part of the churches are either turned into Roman Catholic churches (even the ancient Cathedral of Cholm) or burnt down and altogether destroyed. But the opinion of these dioceses against autocephaly is clearly expressed by the acts and declarations (for unity against division) of their spiritual leaders, Panteleimon, Bishop of Pinsk and Novogrudsk, and Sergios, who was twice nominated by the Holy Patriarch Tikhon to take charge of the Cholm Diocese.

4. In co-operation with the Polish Government, which has usurped a right of uncontrolled and arbitrary meddling in the affairs of the Orthodox Church, violent innovations were made in order to obtain a fictitious majority of votes for autocephaly: (*a*) In accordance with the usual practice of the Russian Church, confirmed by the All-

Russian Church Council of 1918, and by "The rules for governing the Orthodox Church in the boundaries of Poland," ratified by the holy Patriarch Tikhon and his Supreme Church Council, only the Provincial District Council, with representatives from the clergy and laymen, is competent to discuss such cardinal questions as a separation from the Mother-Church and the organization of the Supreme Church Administration. In fact, the Council was not called, notwithstanding repeated and insistent requests of the bishops, the clergy, and the people, and a meeting of bishops was substituted for it; (*b*) the Bishops Panteleimon of Pinsk and Novogrudsk and Sergius of Belsk, in charge of the Cholm Diocese, being antagonistic to autocephaly, were forcibly expelled from their dioceses without trial.

5. For the purpose of getting together a majority of votes for the autocephaly, the Archimandrite Alexander, their adherent, was ordained Bishop of Lublin by two bishops—the Metropolitan George and Bishop Dionisios. But (*a*) this was in distinct violation of the fourth canon of the First Œcumenical Council, the third rule of the Seventh Œcumenical Council, the sixtieth rule of the Carthagene Council, and the nineteenth rule of the Antioch Council, which necessitate sanction, and, if possible, the presence of all, or not less than half, of the bishops of the district for the ordaining of every new bishop; (*b*) of the two hierarchs who elected and ordained the Archimandrite Alexander, the Bishop Dionisios, in virtue of the Apost. Rule 15, as a "teacher of Church disorder," is liable himself to the jurisdiction of the Church for having received into the diocese two strangers, "inhibited clergymen," and, as such, could not participate in the act of their ordination; (*c*) by ordaining a bishop for the bishopric of Lublin the Metropolitan George exceeded his ecclesiastical rights, for he himself had abolished the ancient Cholm independent cathedra, and deposed it to the position of a vicarship. Thus, by excluding the vote of the improperly appointed Bishop Alexander, there were only two episcopal votes for autocephaly (those of the Metropolitan George and Bishop Dionisios); against it there were two votes (those of Archbishop Elevtherios and Bishop Vladimir), and two canonically qualified bishops protested against it, having been forcibly banished from their dioceses.

Under such conditions, the enactment of Polish autocephaly is obviously an absolutely unlawful and anticanonical act.

THE GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH AND BIBLICAL CRITICISM

By F. GAVIN, M.A., Th.D.

THE renaissance of theological learning in the Greek-speaking part of the Orthodox Church is roughly contemporaneous with the Oxford Movement. Both movements were alike in two respects at least, for both were modern and both were directed towards the reclamation of the treasures of the past. These two notes characterize Greek Orthodox theology of the present day, as they in large part determine its character. While most of the theologians of to-day were trained in Germany and are therefore conversant with the problems confronting modern Christianity, they are thoroughly Orthodox in spirit. The difficulties which confronted them, and which still beset them, are enormous. In the first place, as Damalas admits,[1] theological learning had come to such a pass that outside theologians writing on the Orthodox Church could rightly speak of a stagnation of the Church. Androutsos, commenting on the dogmatic explicitness of the Roman Church, says: "The case is entirely different with Orthodoxy. In the first place, the Orthodox have no dogmatic system defined at the Ecumenical Councils except as regards the dogmas of the Holy Trinity and of Jesus Christ; as for the other dogmas, some are enshrined entirely in the various monuments of tradition, and others were formulated by the synods of the seventeenth century. But the process of working through and shaping up the dogmatic material contained . . . in tradition is a task replete with various difficulties. The formulation of dogmas in the aforementioned synods was largely negative, and has not the same authentic character as that of the Ecumenical Councils, but is accepted on the basis of its conformity to the tradition of the Church. . . . Hence the work of an Orthodox dogmatic theologian . . . is most difficult. Often he is confronted by the absence of any authoritative utterance, and labours under the necessity of settling problems according to the spirit prevailing in tradition and manifested in practice."[2]

In these words Androutsos suggests a fact which it is well to remember in attempting to ascertain the mind of Orthodoxy on any matter not explicitly defined. There is for Orthodoxy no court of appeal, no apparatus for registering an official judgment or opinion. Furthermore, the method of enunciating the views of the Orthodox Confederation of Churches is vastly different from that prevailing in

[1] Περὶ ἀρχῶν, Leipzig, 1865, p. 5.
[2] Δογματική, Athens, 1907, p. x (preface).

the highly organized and centralized Church of Rome, with its curias and commissions. The organic character of Church tradition means at least that the living stream of continuous religious life takes cognizance only of those facts which have a real bearing on its essential character and are living issues. In the consideration of the particular subject-matter of this paper the only procedure possible is, first, to ascertain the significance of the question from the point of view of Orthodoxy, and then to discover the principles upon which it might be dealt with, by the investigation of the teaching of Orthodoxy on allied and cognate matters which bear on the case, from the writings of eminent theologians.

Biblical criticism is a matter of vital importance to those Christian communities which are bound to a certain view of the inspiration of Holy Scripture, or which regard the Bible as the sole rule of faith. Both Orthodox Protestantism and modern Roman Catholicism find great difficulties in the scientific study of Holy Writ carried on according to the historical method, but each reaction is based upon a different premise. The theory of verbal inspiration, held by some Roman teachers,[1] makes the historical method both useless and superfluous. Conservative Protestantism views critical methods with hostility. If, on the other hand, a Christian Communion be bound to no theory of literal or verbal inspiration, nor regard the text of Holy Writ as the sole canon of faith, the question of the scientific study of the Bible may be considered on its own merits alone, and without regard to its subversive character in principle. The following pages will attempt to approach the subject and ascertain the attitude of Orthodoxy, by a consideration of these topics: (*a*) the inspiration of the Bible; (*b*) teaching about Holy Scripture—its character, canon, text, etc.; (*c*) the relation of the written word to tradition; (*d*) the relation of the Church to the Bible and to the derivation and formulation of doctrine.

The inspiration of Holy Scripture is a dogma of the Faith, for "the Holy Spirit is the Revealer (εὑρετής) of Holy Writ, both of the Old and the New Testament, and uttered it by means of many co-workers."[2] Dositheus' *Confession* acknowledges "the Divine and Holy Scriptures to be taught of God, and therefore to be believed unhesitatingly."[3] "The Holy Scriptures were written by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit."[4] There is no question as to the fact of inspiration, but no uniform or unvarying theory of it has been handed

[1] *Cf.* Denziger-Bannwart, 1787f, 2009, 2011, *et al.*; Biblical Commission *Responsa* of June 29, 1905, June 30, 1909; the decree *Lamentabile*, etc.

[2] Mogila's *Confession*, in Mesolora, Συμβολική, vol. i., Athens, 1883, pp. 412-413.

[3] In *op. cit.*, ii., Athens, 1893, p. 103.

[4] Ambraze, Ἠ ὀρθοδοξος Ἐκκλησια, Athens, 1902, p. 192.

down by tradition. "The manner of the inspiration [of Holy Scripture] has not been exactly defined," says Androutsos, "whether it be a literal dictation of the sacred conceptions, or only the overseeing care of the Holy Spirit protecting (the writers) from error; but the general acceptance of the books of Holy Writ as having been written by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit and as containing no contradiction or inaccuracy is acknowledged by the Fathers of the Church. Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, and Theophilus of Antioch call the prophets 'organs of God' actuated by the Holy Spirit for the revelation of divine things.[1] Later Fathers, in conflict with Montanism . . . reject the notion that the prophets were rapt into ecstasy at the time of inspiration. Others magnify the unchanging character of Holy Writ, which, while it may contain differences, is yet consistent with itself. Any apparent contradiction in Holy Scripture may be due either to mistakes of MSS. or translations, or to our faulty understanding. At the time of the Reformation there first appeared the conception of inspiration as a verbal communication of divine truths, and some Western theologians distinguished the general *inspiration* of the essential portions from the *assistance* of the Holy Spirit in the historical parts. That the conception of inspiration as verbal or literal cannot gain acceptance among us is shown clearly not only by the comments of St. Chrysostom and St. Jerome on the harmony and divergence of the Gospels, but also by the personal characteristics of the individual writer shown in his own presentation of the facts, by the differences in the narratives of the same events, and by the translations which, according to the theory of literal inspiration, could not have been allowed as they would be profanations of the form of the Divine Word. In regard to the question of the essential character of inspiration we must be content with the general statements[2] that God or the Holy Spirit speaks in Holy Writ, and that there is in it no falsity or contradiction. The notion that inspiration is to be referred only to the dogmatic and ethical teaching,[3] and that in consequence Holy Scripture is without

[1] "On the difference between the prophetic message of the Saviour and that of the prophets," *cf.* Kephala, Χριστολογία, Athens, 1900, p. 187.

[2] Dyobouniotes attacked this conclusion as not contributing anything of value to the subject (*cf.* his Ἡ Δογματικὴ τοῦ κ. Ἀνδρούτσου κρινομένη, Athens, 1907, pp. 7-8; Ὀφειγομένη ἀπάντησις, Athens, 1908, pp. 15-16; Androutsos' reply in Δογματικαὶ Μελέται, Α', Athens, 1907, pp. 27-28).

[3] But, says Dyobouniotes, "most of the younger Greek theologians who have dealt with this question—not excepting Rhôsse—hold this view" (*cf. loc. cit.*) He makes the point that the sacred writers wrote both by the Holy Spirit and also of themselves (*cf.* 1 Tim. v. 23; 2 Tim. iv. 13; 1 Cor. vii. 40, etc.) Androutsos answers: "In the Orthodox Church the only conception of inspiration is that of it in its most general aspect—namely, the inspiration and illumina-

error and free from contradiction in these matters (or, in general, in respect to what concerns salvation), is a theory of the later Protestant theologians, and must be rejected—among other reasons, because it leads to regarding Holy Scripture as an ordinary work, as we see in the case of the rationalists. If Holy Scripture be divided into the divine and human parts—into that which is necessary to salvation and that which is not—there is no authentic proof of such a distinction, nor is there any objective criterion to separate the inspired from the uninspired, and the rationalist view of Holy Scripture becomes inevitably the next step."[1]

Mesolora's treatment of the subject of inspiration is bound up with his discussion of the trustworthiness and credibility of Holy Writ.[2] The Holy Scriptures are inspired " not only because they contain in a pre-eminent degree the word of God . . . but also because everything written by the sacred writers was done in the Spirit of God—even if in certain respects they did not stand in need of immediate supernatural ' revelation ' in its literal meaning. Every scripture being inspired by God has divine authentication."[3] Mesolora implies a distinction between the immediate revelation from God, when the Holy Spirit spake *by* the prophets and Apostles, and their writing and speaking *in* the Spirit, as in the individual and peculiar form of their narrative. " By inspiration the understanding is illuminated and the human will uplifted to the Divine. . . . According to the Symbolic Books the formulation of the dogma of the inspiration of Holy Scripture is as follows: Holy Scripture was written under the immediate inspiration (ἐπιπνοιαν) and guidance of the Holy Spirit, the sacred writers not only being guarded from all error by Him, but, positively, receiving many times ideas as well as words, without any violence being done to their natural faculties. Just as Divine Grace does not do away with the operation of the human element, so divine inspiration does not suppress the use of the natural powers, nor do away with study, labour, the natural idiom of speech, or, as in many instances, with the personal characteristics of the individual writer."[4] Mesolora proceeds to show the credibility and trustworthiness of Holy Scripture, basing his argument on the following four proofs: (*a*) The priceless religious and dogmatic content of Holy Writ, " which could

tion of God for the presentation of those matters which the sacred writers had come to know; [inspiration] extends not only to the dogmatic and ethical truths, but to the whole of Holy Scripture " (Λογμ. Μελέτ., Α', p. 26).

[1] Δογματική, Athens, 1907, pp. 4-5, and *cf.* his Συμβολική, pp. 114 *ff.*

[2] *Cf. op. cit.*, iii., Athens, 1901, *Introduction*, § 5, pp. 30-42. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[4] *Ibid.*, with which *cf.* Stone, *Outlines of Christian Dogma* (1900), p. 127. For the same type of thought *cf.* Constantius Oikonomos, Περὶ τῶν Ο' Ἑρμενευτῶν τῆς Παλαιᾶς Θείας Γραθῆς, Athens, 1849, iv., p. 55, and Ballianos' edition (and translation into Greek) of Antonius' *Orthodox Dogmatic*, Athens, 1858, p. 21.

not have been written by man without revelation and apart from inspiration";[1] (*b*) the lofty ethical and moral content of the Bible; (*c*) the exactness of conformity of prophecy to fulfilment and of type to anti-type; and (*d*) the speedy recognition by the world of the value of Holy Scripture. A concluding comment of Mesolora is not without significance: "Luther, in order to oppose the Latins, who held the theory of degrees and grades of inspiration, proclaimed that of the inspiration of the very words of Holy Writ," which he regards as "absurd."[2]

Rhôsse's more profound treatment of inspiration is given in conjunction with the allied questions of the authenticity, genuineness, trustworthiness, and integrity of Holy Writ.[3] Inspiration is "the imparting . . . to the sacred writers of divine truths, and the overseeing care of the Holy Spirit toward the end of their proper presentation. . . . It has due regard to the personal idiosyncrasies of the holy men."[4] "There are different degrees of inspiration," he goes on to say, "of which the loftiest is that of the prophets and Apostles. Generally speaking, those parts of Holy Scripture are inspired which contain truths transcending the limitations of the finite spirit of man, and which can only be obtained from the Divine Spirit or Divine Revelation. In other portions, such as the historical . . . there is the assistance of the Holy Spirit. Inspiration may not be understood to be a dictation of the very words, but rather the imparting of conceptions and truths which the sacred writers were unable to discover through their own human spirit."[5] Philo, Justin Martyr, and Athenagoras all taught the passive character of the human factor in inspiration, and thought of inspiration as comparable to the rapt ecstasy of the oracles and seers of the heathen. But, says Rhôsse, inspiration may not be understood "as an ecstatic influence doing away with self-consciousness and individual activity on the part of the writers, but as the operation of God the Spirit uplifting . . . the exercise of human energy, and fulfilling the knowledge of religious truths by imparting supernatural truths."[6]

Holy Scripture is "the Divine Word which God proffered through prophets and Apostles, and consigned to the Church as guardian, as a great and heavenly treasure. . . . It is truth, for it comes from Him who is Himself Truth."[7] The Holy Bible is the collected whole of the books written by inspired men, in which are contained the

[1] In n. 2, p. 39, *ibid.*, he distinguishes between the systematic and orderly presentation of these truths in the Bible from the scattered references to them severally elsewhere.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 39-41.

[3] Σύστημα δογματικῆς, Athens, 1903, §§ 323-329.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 469. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 470. [6] *Ibid.*, pp. 471-473.

[7] Metrophanes Kritopoulos' *Confession*, in Mesolora, *op. cit.*, i., pp. 318, 319.

Divine Revelations.[1] The books, "written at different times by inspired men, and widely separated in origin, were gathered together . . . and separated from non-genuine works . . . into the Canon of Holy Scripture, or the collection of canonical books. . . . This collection of books is called the Canon . . . because in it is contained the authentic formulation of the canon or measure of the faith and life of the Faithful."[2] The Bible of the Orthodox Church consists of the LXX version of the Old Testament and the *Textus Receptus* of the New.[3] There has always been a wide latitude of opinion in Orthodox circles regarding the relation of the deutero-canonical books to the Canon of the Old Testament. "Our Church," says Mesolora, "from the beginning has not had a definite and clear mind" on the subject.[4] The distinction between *ἀναγινωσκόμενα* and *κανονικά*, dating from the time of St. Athanasius, has prevailed until the present time. The "Ezra Canon" is contrasted with the "Alexandrine Canon," even in ancient times, and the action of the Synod of Laodicea (365) in failing to reckon the deutero-canonical books in the Canon,[5] represents an early view which other synods did not share.[6] St. John of Damascus did not regard the Wisdom of Solomon and Ben Sirach as belonging to the Canon, however valuable and wholesome he held them to be.[7] Later synodical legislation of the Orthodox Church reflects the two points of view. The extremes are represented by Dositheus, who says:[8] "We adjudge them (*i.e.*, the deutero-canonical books) to be genuine parts of the Holy Scriptures along with the other genuine books . . . all of which we hold to be canonical, and acknowledge to be Holy Writ," and by Metrophanes Kritopoulos, who writes:[9] "The Church of Christ—as witness among others Gregory the Theologian, St. Amphilochius, and lastly St. John Damascene—has never accepted them as canonical and authentic." Yet the sixteenth-century synods refused to say that these books were "un-canonical," while not accepting them as fully canonical. Kritopoulos' opinion must be received with reservations and caution,

[1] Rhôsse, *op. cit.*, p. 466.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 467, and *cf.* p. 468 (§ 322).

[3] The LXX, according to the *Codex Alexandrinus*, and the New Testament of the Erasmian text (Mesolora, *op. cit.*, iii., p. 54). Official editions of the Old Testament were issued: Constantinople, 1810; Moscow, 1821 (Old and New Testament); Athens, 1843 (S.P.C.K.); Athens, 1892, etc.

[4] *Op. cit.*, iii., p. 45.

[5] Oikonomos in part explains away the action of this Synod—*cf. op. cit.*, iv., p. 120.

[6] Such as, *e.g.*, Hippo (393) and Carthage (397).

[7] *Ἔκθεσις τ. ὀρθ. πίστεως* (*περὶ Γραφῶν*), iv., p. 94.

[8] In Mesolora, *op. cit.*, ii., p. 121.

[9] *Ibid.*, i., p. 319 (Kimmel, ii., pp. 105-106).

as he has, not without reason, been regarded as pro-Protestant.[1] Mesolora denies that his opinion is that of the Eastern Church.[2] Among the moderns, Oikonomos[3] and Kontogones[4] represent one extreme and regard the deutero-canonical books as an integral part of Holy Writ, while the Russians[5] generally follow the view of Kritopoulos. Mesolora concludes that both deutero-canonical and proto-canonical books, having by implication been recognized by the Sixth Œcumenical Council, have canonical weight.[6] Androutsos summarizes his discussion of the subject in the words: "We are on the side of those who accept their canonical authority. Nevertheless it is well that the ancient distinction with its historical significance be maintained—the division of the books of the Old Testament into canonical and *ἀναγινωσκόμενα*."[7]

The text of the Old Testament, as has been said, is that of the LXX. "Inasmuch as the books of the Old Testament were translated into Greek from ancient MSS. of the Hebrew prototype, and the Apostles employed this version, called the Septuagint, in their preaching and writing (as did also the other writers of the New Testament), this version has had and does have in the Church the authority of the prototype, the more so as the MSS. of the Hebrew text which have survived to the present day were written after the time of our Lord, and may not be regarded as possessing the purity of the earlier texts written in the years B.C. from which the Greek version of the LXX was made."[8] Since the LXX was the text used by the Fathers and the Œcumenical Councils, "we affirm," says Mesolora, "that for us the official, ecclesiastically authoritative, and standard text is that of the LXX."[9] It is "the only text which may be considered ecclesiastically authoritative."[10] This is the burden of Gregory VI.'s *Encyclical*,[11] the occasion of which was the condemnation of the translations of either Old or New Testament into the Greek vernacular idiom. (It may be said in passing that the Greek Church forbids the use of any version of the Bible into the common language,[12] and also

[1] For full discussion *cf.* Palmieri, *Theologica dogmatica orthodoxa, Prolegomena*, i., Florence, 1911, pp. 564-576; bibliography on Krit., p. 564, n.

[2] *Op. cit.*, iii., p. 48. [3] *Op. cit.*, iv., p. 110.

[4] Εἰσαγωγὴ εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Γραφήν, p. 14.

[5] *E.g.*, Macarius, *Introduction à la théologie*, Paris, 1859, p. 489; Bulgaris, Θεολογικόν (Greek translation), p. 29; Jasek, *Doctrina Russorum de canone Veteris Testamenti* (*Slavorum litteræ theologicæ*), ii., 1906, p. 136.

[6] *Op. cit.*, iii., pp. 48-49.

[7] Δογματική, p. 6; *cf.* Rhôsse, *op. cit.*, p. 467.

[8] Rhôsse, *op. cit.*, pp. 475-476.

[9] *Op. cit.*, iii., p. 54. [10] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

[11] Gedeon, Κανονικαὶ διατάξεις, Constantinople, ii., 1889, pp. 264-272.

[12] *Cf.* Mesolora, *op. cit.*, iii., pp. 55-57; Rhôsse, *op. cit.*, pp. 476-480; Androutsos, *op. cit.*, n. 7, pp. 6-8; *ibid.*, Συμβολική, pp. 122 *ff.*; Δογματικαὶ Μελέται, Λ', p. 23.

officially discourages the reading of Holy Scripture by the uneducated laity.)[1] Oikonomos attempted to make a case for the inspiration and inerrancy of the LXX, but his view has not gained very wide acceptance.[2] While Mesolora admits that there was a certain measure of inspiration accorded the translators of the LXX,[3] and says of it that it "has the greatest value, even ecclesiastical validity (κῦρος)."[4] Androutsos denies that the LXX could have been "inspired, as Oikonomos erroneously held, for 'inspiration' has no meaning in the case of a translation." He admits that the translation was providentially guided, and that "the Church accords great weight to the LXX."[5] As to the question of the possibility of correcting the LXX by the Hebrew, Androutsos says that "the Church has never condemned it when undertaken by Churchmen."[6] From the scientific point of view Mesolora acknowledges that he would not be prepared to deny categorically that any lexical errors had crept into the text of the LXX, but says that such mistakes are not to be found in any significant or essential passages.[7]

The Orthodox view of Revelation regards it as a process rather than an act. The conditioning factor throughout was the receptivity and spiritual state of man. Both "internal revelation," or inspiration, and "external revelation," or miracle, according to Rhôsse,[8] were given with due deference to the nature and character of men, so that the prophets did not abandon their own free-will or self-consciousness, nor did God's part do violence to the stage of development attained by men. The gradual character of the unfolding of Revelation is manifest even in Holy Writ, for "the message preached by Christ set down by the Evangelists is developed under the leadership of the Holy Spirit in the Epistles. . . . In the Christian teaching in the different writings of the New Testament there is no essential difference of content, but only a formal difference (τυπικὴ διαφορά)."[9] "Inasmuch as the Divine Revelations were imparted gradually according to the need of men at different times and under different circumstances, the books of Holy Scripture, as containing the Divine Revelation in its gradual impartation and historical development, have also a certain historical character."[10] The relation of the Old Testament to the New Testament is therefore apparent. "The point of view from which the Old Testament should be studied and the standard by which

[1] The great passage is in Dositheus' *Confession*, in Mesolora, *op. cit.*, ii., p. 110; Mesolora, *op. cit.*, iii., pp. 49-54, especially *note*, pp. 52-53; Dyobouniotes, Δογ. Ἀνδρ. Κρινομένη, p. 7; Androutsos, *loc. cit.*, and Δογμ. Μελ., Α', pp. 23-25.

[2] *Op. cit.*, *cf.* particularly i., pp. 11-12, and iv., pp. 47-104.

[3] *Op. cit.*, iii., p. 61.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

[5] Δογματική, p. 6, n. 7.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Op. cit.*, iii., p. 61; *cf.* Macarius, *op. cit.*, note, pp. 415 *ff.*

[8] *Cf. op. cit.*, pp. 441-465, etc.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 484.

[10] P. 466.

it should be estimated is the New Testament. From this aspect the Old Testament not only contributes to the understanding of the New Testament, but at the same time becomes a faithful likeness of the dealings of God in leading forward the chosen people."[1] It is the relation of type to anti-type. "Old Testament and New Testament constitute one whole, and the key to the understanding of the Old Testament is the New Testament. . . . The dogmatic and ethical parts of it are illuminated by the light of the New Testament."[2]

The Orthodox doctrine of the Bible must be considered in the light of the teaching in regard to tradition and the development of doctrine, and of that about the Church. An adequate presentation of these elements of Orthodox teaching would demand far more space than the limits of this paper allow, so a very brief summary must here suffice. Orthodox writers teach clearly and explicitly the theory of the development of doctrine, especially that of the modern Greek school. As the evidence is admirably presented by Palmieri[3] it may suffice here only to indicate the general line of their thought. Rhôsse develops the topic at considerable length, and distinguishes true from false development in the words: "The dogmatic content of the Faith in its true development . . . takes only a more perfect form or a more adequate formulation, but itself remains essentially the same without change of substance."[4] "This development," says Androutsos,[5] "is no evolution, but only a progress without change in essence. . . . No new dogmas are enunciated, but only the same dogmas in a new way." The gradual progress of Revelation is the basis for the parallel and analogous development of doctrine. "Since Revelation is not given immediately and was not imparted to man as a self-sufficient and full teaching, but gradually and little by little, in many ways and divers fashions, . . . it has a gradual unfolding in accordance with the manifest religious needs of mankind."[6] "Revelation exists in germ and stands in need of development," writes Dyobouniotes.[7] "The warmer and more vital be the faith of the individual, the more vital and warm will be his zeal . . . to probe deeper into the understanding and development of the religious and ethical truths contained in germ in Holy Writ." In the same connection he emphasizes the fact that this is one of the functions of the

[1] Androutsos, Δογματική, p. 5.

[2] *Ibid.*, Δογματικαὶ Μελέται, Α', pp. 24-25; Dyobouniotes says: "The writer very perceptibly depreciates the value of the Old Testament" (Δογμ. Ἀνσρ. Κρν., p. 7).

[3] *Op. cit.*, i., pp. 31-88 *et passim*; *ibid.*, *Il progresso dommatico nel concetto cattolico*, Florence, 1910, particularly chapter iii.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 93, and *cf.* pp. 91-114, 29-30, 56-57, and 466 *ff.*

[5] Δογματική, pp. 14-15, and *cf.* pp. 9-20.

[6] Mesolora, *op. cit.*, iii., pp. 33 *ff.*

[7] Ὀφειλομένη ἀπάνεησις, pp. 155-156.

Church and of her members. As the Guardian and Interpreter of the Bible it is her duty to unfold and formulate the teaching of revelation, and to phrase it in terms and formularies which, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, she is empowered to employ.[1]

The relation of the Bible to tradition is quite clear and definite in Orthodox teaching. They are the two sources of the Faith, from which all the saving truths are derived.[2] The Written and the Unwritten Word constitute the sources and standards of the Faith.[3] "The Saviour established His Church not by the written, but by the spoken word, and through His Spirit whom He imparted. . . . The Church existed many years without the written word. There is no evidence in the writings of the New Testament that the Apostles wrote down all that the Faithful had need to know or all that they taught by word of mouth, or that their writings alone were to be regarded as the standard of Christian faith and life. . . . Tradition may be regarded as the standard of faith, first in time as well as in value."[4] In fact, "Holy Writ is itself the first written formulation of tradition."[5] There is no more difference between Gospels and Epistles, as regards their content, than between the New Testament and sacred tradition.[6] It is impossible to understand the Bible without the help which tradition, the first standard of faith, affords, for "tradition, in its widest meaning, includes both the Holy Scriptures and 'tradition,' in its narrower meaning."[7] The interpretation of Holy Writ belongs by right to the Church, and no private interpretation is either justifiable or adequate, for our Lord committed His Revelation to His Body, the Church, which has His authority to expound and interpret Holy Scripture and to teach the Faith infallibly.[8]

In conclusion, it may be noted that the Orthodox Church is not in principle committed to the condemnation of that kind of study of the Bible which may be called the critical or historical method. The recognition of stages and strata in the history of revelation, the emphasis upon the principle of the development of doctrine, the absence of any theory of inspiration, and the protection afforded by the twofold basis for the dogmatic formulations of the Church together with the doctrine of the Church, leave open the way to utilize to the full the best results of modern Biblical scholarship, where such results have been tested and proven by the illumination afforded in tradition and the religious experience of Christianity.

[1] Mesolora, IV., pp. 36-38, and *cf.* Kritopoulos, *ibid.*, I., p. 318.

[2] Ambraze, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

[3] Androutsos, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[4] Rhôsse, *op. cit.*, pp. 480-481.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 483.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 484.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 487-489.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 24, n., 56, 101, 104, *et al.* Ambraze, *op. cit. passim*, and p. 193; Mogila, in Mesolora, *op. cit.*, pp. 412-413; Dositheus, *ibid.*, II., pp. 103-104, 120; Mesolora, *op. cit.*, IV., pp. 1-34.

As instances of the way in which such proven results of criticism commend themselves to writers of the modern period, two concrete examples may be of interest. What is the attitude of present-day Orthodoxy to the questions arising from the problem of authorship of certain books of the Bible? How do they react to the modern criticism of the Creation story in Genesis? As to the first, Rhôssei says: "Even if it were to be demonstrated that certain books were not written by those writers to whom authorship has generally been ascribed, but by some writers unknown, these books would not be regarded as unauthentic." Admission to the Canon is sufficient guarantee of inspiration, genuineness, and value.[2] As to the Creation story, Mesolora[3] comments: "The Hexæmeron in Holy Scripture is not a textbook on natural history, geology, or geography, but a religious work exactly fulfilling the sacred purpose for which it was designed. We can come away with nothing certain if we attempt to seek in it geological data which the science [of geology] cannot furnish us. In essence the Mosaic account is true, since from it we derive the truth that God created the world in His Wisdom. It is obvious . . . that we may not interpret everything in Holy Scripture literally, as God often reveals religious truths to men allegorically." Androutsos writes[4] in the same vein: "Holy Scripture is one thing and natural science another. Holy Writ does not constitute a text on natural history, nor does it profess to teach science, but presents its content in the form and language agreeable to the ideas and comprehension of those for whom it was written, with one purpose only in view: to ascribe the beginning of the universe to God."[5]

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 468.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 468-469.

[3] *Op. cit.*, III, p. 136, note (last paragraph).

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 111.

[5] It is true that Dyobouniotes criticized this passage severely, but much of what he says may be discounted, as the controversy between him and Androutsos is characterized by much recrimination, rancour, captiousness, and *odium theologicum*. By implication Dyobouniotes accuses Androutsos of denying the doctrine of inspiration: "If Holy Scripture were written according to men it would certainly contain many mistakes and errors" (Η Δογμ. τ. κ. Ἀνδρ. κριτικ., p. 7; Ὀφειλομένη ἀπάντησις, pp. 18-19). In this connection Androutsos' statements that "the Apostles did not know the depth of the Spirit of Christ" (Δογματική, p. 188) and that "they were in error in thinking that the Second Coming was to take place in the near future" (*ibid.*, p. 411) are of interest. Dyobouniotes also attacked Androutsos on these points, for whose position *cf. op. et loc. cit.* Androutsos' reply is in his Δογματικαὶ Μελέται, Α', pp. 31-39, and Δογμ. Μελέται, Β', *passim*.

OPEN LETTER OF THE PATRIARCH OF JUGO SLAVIA

WE print this translation, made from *Glaznik* by the Rev. R. M. French, of a letter issued by the Patriarch of Jugo Slavia:

Appeal of His Holiness, the Patriarch Dimitri, to the Presiding Bishops of the Orthodox Churches, and also of the Anglican, Old Catholic, and Episcopalian Churches in Great Britain and America, in reference to the terrible persecution and annihilation of the Christians in Asia Minor, and for their protection.

YOUR GRACE,—Gladly would we communicate to Your Grace some joyful news when one Church corresponds so rarely with another, but our heart is filled with agony and sorrow on account of the hitherto unparalleled crimes of the Moslems against the Christians in Asia Minor and Anatolia.

We take for granted that Your Grace has already received information concerning the bloody massacre of Greeks and Armenians, a massacre without pity and to extermination; concerning the burning and destruction of Christian towns and villages; concerning the hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children who have been murdered, and the many thousands of terrified fugitives, starving and homeless creatures, both laity and clergy, bishops, priests, and deacons; concerning the desecration of ancient holy things venerated by all of us who have been baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.

But as we hold that you are already acquainted with all these things, we do not think of explaining to Your Grace all the details of this new tragedy of the Orthodox Church—details which have recently come to our knowledge.

We only hasten to express our profound sorrow in regard to our tortured Christian brethren, both Greeks and Armenians, and our compassion for those who are now far from homes that have been burned and are in destitution and misery, feeding themselves with the bread of fear and tears.

The Serbian Church, which lived for 500 years under the Turkish yoke, understands right well the nature of the fanatical violence directed against Christians, and also the affliction and despair of those who live and die under that violence. But the Serbian Church is not in a position to avert the crimes of the enemies of Christianity. All that we can we do. We pray our Most High Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ that of His mercy He will help and save. We pray both for the martyrs of our holy faith and for their persecutors; we pray that the former may be saved in the Kingdom of Heaven, and that the latter may not utterly lose their souls and perish for ever on account of the extremity of their iniquities.

To Your Grace there will doubtless come the half-stifled lamentations of the Greek and the Armenian Church. We only wish to tell you that the Serbian Church takes her part in their lamentation, their complaint, and their prayer, for the Serbian Church at this hour feels what her sister Churches, the Greek and the Armenian, feel. May the grace of the Holy Spirit move Your Grace to take that step which your Church ought to take and can take at the present moment. It appears to us that three things are very urgent, namely:

1. That the Christian Powers who have helped and are helping the Turks, now when there lie before them hundreds of thousands of innocent graves and burned homes innumerable, bedewed with human blood and tears—the sacrifices slain by their own politics—should seriously reflect, sobered and shocked by their co-operation in the murderous task of exterminating Christians. Let them reflect lest they cut through the branch on which they stand, and lest by aiding in the conflagration of another's house they kindle a flame which may set fire to their own.

2. To send help to those numerous refugees from Asia Minor who are now arriving in their flight at different places in Thrace, the Archipelago, and Greece.

3. To influence Governments and Parliaments that for the sake of humanity and the fear of God, as well as the general interest of Christianity, they may promptly and decisively take measures for the protection of the lives of the few surviving Christians in Asia Minor, and that they prevent the possibility of a massacre in Constantinople.

Wishing from our heart for Your Grace and for your Church the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, we remain with brotherly love and cordial salutation in Christ sincere,

DIMITRI,
ARCHBISHOP OF PEC; METROPOLITAN OF BELGRADE AND KARLOVICE; AND PATRIARCH OF SERBIA.

THE "CHRISTIAN EAST'S" EDITORSHIP.

READERS of the CHRISTIAN EAST will have noted that its last issue bore the imprint of being edited by the Rev. J. A. Douglas and the Rev. C. Norman Smith; in other words, the Rev. H. J. Fynes-Clinton, who is an extremely busy and overworked man, has felt that the special circumstances which rendered it desirable in January, 1921, that he should share responsibility with Mr. Douglas for the contents of this magazine no longer exist. He has, therefore, passed that responsibility on to the person who should naturally bear it—viz., to the General Secretary of the Anglican and Eastern Association.

In recording this change the continuing Editor, while desiring to

express his regret that Mr. Fynes-Clinton will no longer be associated with him in the direct production of the CHRISTIAN EAST, desires also to express his appreciation of the facts that during his co-editorship with Mr. Fynes-Clinton there never arose the slightest difference of opinion or policy between them, and that Mr. Fynes-Clinton was at all times ready to do everything in his power to help forward the preparation of the magazine, any service of which to the Anglo-Orthodox movement is largely due to his unstinted willingness to serve it. Mr. Fynes-Clinton will, of course, remain in close touch with the CHRISTIAN EAST, and will from time to time write for it.

THE METROPOLITAN OF THYATIRA AT THE A. AND E.A. ANNIVERSARY

THIS, perhaps the most notable of all the Anniversaries of the Association, was held on Wednesday, October 25. The Holy Sacrifice was offered in over four hundred cathedrals and churches for the Intention of the Association, a Pontifical Celebration of the Orthodox Liturgy being offered in the Russian Church in Pimlico by the Metropolitan Eulogios, assisted by Russian and Greek priests and deacons, in the presence of the Metropolitan Germanos, Bishop Gore, and some two dozen English clergy, who were placed in the Sanctuary. The church was crowded, the congregation containing a large number of clergy and religious. After the Liturgy a Pannychidi was held for the Neo-Martyrs of Russia, Smyrna, Asia Minor, etc., and Dr. Gore preached the fine sermon (see *Church Times*, October 27), being followed by a short address from Archbishop Eulogios.

A Public Reception was held in the afternoon in the Council Chamber of the Guildhall, after the Annual General Meeting. The Bishop of London took the Chair, as President of the A. and E.C.A., having on either side the Orthodox Archbishops, supported by a distinguished platform, including the Bishops of Bangor and Southwell, and Bishop King. The Bishop of London, in welcoming the Eastern Prelates, recalled the pleasure of his visits to Greece and Russia, during the latter of which he was presented with an eikon of our Lord, in front of which he celebrated every day.

The Metropolitan Eulogios referred to the work done by the Archbishop of Canterbury on behalf of the Patriarch Tikhon and the Russian Church, and expressed his great joy that the relations between the two Churches was being based now, not on theological discussion, but on united prayer under the blessing of God.

The Metropolitan Germanos expressed his gratitude for the reception he had received on his arrival in England. Even before he set foot on English soil (he said) he was neither unaware of nor unsympa-

thetic to the work which has been carried out by this Association with a view to paving the way to union between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches. "This work," he went on, "has been very instrumental in informing many Orthodox theologians that they ought not to judge of the essence of the Anglican Church by basing themselves only on its teaching as it is contained in its doctrinal books. Spirit and life, as they are gradually and regularly developed in our Church, are entitled to more attention than lifeless letter. I am glad to testify, from my own experience and study, that this spirit is the spirit tending to a gradual return to the old united and indivisible Church, which can serve as the only solid ground for common understanding and unification. I perceive this understanding of the two Churches in two movements, quite distinct from each other, in either Church. Firstly, the relaxation of doctrinal thought which has prevailed of late in your Church owing to different influences, and the dissolution resulting therefrom of every connecting link and of every authority, must give way through assiduous and intensified efforts. Only internally united can your Church proceed with the desire to approach and join the great branch of Catholicism, and more especially Orthodox Catholicism. That is why those men of your Church who laid the foundations of this movement in the past are deserving of high praise; as worthy of great gratitude are also those who, despite the protests raised from various quarters, are continuing their activities. Everyone notices the continuous daily increase of the vigour and efficiency of this movement, which, apparently retrogressive, really carries forward, towards the longed-for union with the other Churches. May the God of love and unity guide you as quickly and safely as possible to the goal beyond which the full and perfect doctrinal union is shining. On the other hand, we, the Orthodox, following up with great satisfaction this development, and constantly praying to God for it, must not, I think, remain motionless and wait until you cover the whole distance of the road up to the end where we are standing. No! we must come halfway to meet you. We must, while maintaining whole and integral, as to its essential points, the sacred deposit which we have inherited, familiarize ourselves with the way of thinking and with the conceptions peculiar to you. We must measure not only by the yard of accuracy, but also by the measure of love, distinguishing what is essential from what is of secondary importance; what is governed by time from what is eternal; what is changeable from what is unchangeable and permanent. Allow me even to add the following: Without denying the importance which doctrine has for Christian religion, I must admit that one-sided attachment to it without attention being paid to the genuine Christian life may lead to exclusiveness and isolation. In order, therefore, to bring about the desired meeting, it is necessary that you should restrict

the circle of your doctrinal conception, and that we should, on the contrary, widen ours. When will this meeting be well accomplished? When each one of us, quitting as it were the circle of the views and conceptions of his own Church, plunges into those of the other Church without fanaticism and without bias. The results of such an activity are the recent agreeable events on both sides; I mean, on the one hand, the submitting of the views of distinguished members of your Church on fundamental doctrines of the faith to the judgment and appreciation of the Church of Constantinople, and, on the other hand, the decision of the Œcumenical Patriarchate to recognize the validity of Anglican Orders."

His Grace continued by postulating the necessity, for this co-operation, of calmness of soul and spirit, which only consciousness of the safety of life can give. Such consciousness does not exist in the Orthodox Church at the present time, owing partly to the strenuous struggle that the Russian Church has had to wage during the past years against atheism and tyranny, and partly to the acute persecution that has more recently overtaken the Church of Constantinople. This insecurity, he claimed, had delayed the union of the two Churches from the Orthodox side. He concluded by asking for united prayer that God may soon rid the Orthodox Church of the evils surrounding it, so that, unembarrassed by other thoughts, it may give itself up to the work of edifying the faithful, and to the cause of promoting the work of union, for which our Lord prayed to His heavenly Father "that they may be one, as We are."

The Rev. J. A. Douglas and Mr. Athelstan Riley also spoke.

As a result of a collection taken for the refugees from Smyrna, the General Secretary sent to the Lord Mayor's Fund nearly £30.

The following resolutions were passed unanimously, and forwarded to those whom they concerned:

1. "This meeting expresses its admiration of the Patriarch Tikhon, of the martyred Metropolitans, Chrysostom of Smyrna and Benjamin of Petrograd, as of the other heroic Greek and Russian Bishops, and other clergy, who in recent years, with hundreds of thousands of their people, have endured death for the Faith."

2. "This meeting repeats its former expression of admiration for the faithfulness of the Armenian Church and nation under bitter persecution."

3. "This meeting expresses its horror and indignation at the apathy in Europe which has permitted the Turks to exterminate the Christians of Asia Minor, and has allowed them to commit the supreme crime of the sack and burning of the great Christian city of Smyrna."

4. "This meeting expresses its warm and lasting gratitude to the late Government for the safeguarding of Constantinople and its Christian majority from the fate of Smyrna, and hoping that the new Government will adhere to the same policy, which Mr. Lloyd George

based on principles inherited from Gladstone, Salisbury, and Bryce, urges it to secure that the Turks shall guarantee a full amnesty for the Patriarchs Meletios and Zaven, with their peoples, in regard to their support of the Allies."

5. "This meeting expresses its satisfaction at the acceptance of Anglican Ordinations by the Œcumenical Patriarchate, and its belief that this memorable event will hasten the Reunion of the Anglican and Orthodox Churches."

AMONG THE REFUGEES

By the Rev. W. A. WIGRAM, D.D.

POUR, at two days' notice, a mass of a million destitute refugees upon a poor country of some five million inhabitants. Complicate that fact with the bewilderment incident to a great military disaster abroad and a revolution at home, and it will be admitted that you have a problem the solution of which might tax the best of administrators, and that by their own admission the Greeks have no claim to be. "We are over-political," said a shrewd Greek observer to the writer once; "our men are too keen on political questions to manage them well. English slackness is an element in English political success." Whatever the reason, the fact is undoubted that, while Greek private ventures, whether economical or charitable, are often admirably managed, yet once let the Government get control, and confusion, delay, and corruption creep in without fail, so that the nation which has been the standing example for political historians in the past may yet present a lesson on the results of socialism on human psychology to the modern world. Thus it may be understood that, when the flood of refugees began pouring into the country, those in authority were at once too busy, and we may add too excited, to take any effective measures at all as far as they were concerned; in fact, in the general confusion, a Gilbertian touch was added to a situation that was melancholy enough generally, when the news went round that the Government had lost King Constantine's formal act of abdication!

Thus, though Greek authority was soon doing its best, and doing it most liberally, without regard to expense, it was doing it under a grievous handicap, laid upon it partly by circumstances, and partly by the character of the Greek nation.

The foreign help available has been for the most part English and American, though the Greeks have not always realized how much English charity has done for them, owing to the fact that English help has been sent, for the most part, through such international agencies as the Red Cross and the "Save the Children Fund," while Americans have been undisguisedly national.

The British colony at Athens is at least entitled to say that it was the first in the field with its personal efforts, and that the fund raised locally by a community that is neither large nor rich, and administered by the personal labour of its members, was enough to tide over a time of terrible difficulty, and to preserve many hundred lives, during the interval that elapsed before it was physically possible for the larger funds to get into harness.

In that period Athens was, as it were, in a nightmare. Tens of thousands of families (barring, of course, the men who had been kept in captivity by Kemal) had been hurled on shipboard at Smyrna, everyone getting aboard as he or she could, and families being often scattered in two or three ships; any refuge was acceptable after days and nights of horror in the ring of flame on Smyrna quay, where each day the Turks searched the helpless for their valuables, and each night went to and fro among them with lanterns searching for their girls. Then, after a hurried passage, the human cargo was decanted on to the wharves of Piræus, while the ship turned round and went back for more.

By the time that they were landed many refugees were, mercifully, past all feeling and caring. Stunned for the time by the succession of strokes, they sate underneath such shelters as were provided, or often in the open streets, without moving. We had always thought that the author of "Job" exaggerated when he made the Patriarch and his friends "sit still for seven days and seven nights, neither said any a word unto him, for his grief was very great." It is the mere fact, however, that, even after the comparative rest of the sea, many refugees sate thus for three days, scarcely stirring even to eat, in the dull coma of misery. For a fortnight they remained in the temporary shelter provided—great empty Customs sheds, with iron roofs and earthen floors—in the hot Athenian October. We must leave to the imagination the horror of such a place, where some two thousand people were gathered to live, eat, and sleep, and where not the smallest facility for washing or any other sanitary measure was provided. It was in places like this that the English ladies were labouring, distributing food and such clothing as was available, with the help of Englishmen and a few Greek sailors, who preserved some order among the crowd. The destitution of the bulk of the people was absolute; Kemal's men had left them, often, but one garment apiece. There were, of course, exceptions to the rule, but these did not always help themselves. One woman in a Piræus "camp" (the depots were so called, though not under canvas[1]) was found dead of sheer starvation in her place, yet when the body was prepared for burial, a bundle of twenty-five English

[1] Lack of water made it impossible to feed the refugees in real camps.

pound notes was found upon it. The poor creature had died rather than break in upon the hoard that was to keep her in old age!

Gradually folk were moved into better surroundings, and separate camps, or depots, were formed, English and Americans each taking charge of one of the many organized. Gradually, consciousness returned to the victims, and one saw the mothers and wives wandering from camp to camp, seeking for news of their families, if maybe they had found shelter elsewhere in the storm.

This caused some trouble to those in control of "camps," who had, of course, to register those whom they were feeding. Kinsfolk naturally sought out kin, and wished to be with them in camp, and the fact complicated the camp organization, particularly when one camp was more popular than another.

"I have allowed a man to come in because his wife was here," said the lady in temporary charge of one camp to the masculine controller of the same. "But how did you know she was his wife?" said the martinet, who wanted to keep his numbers manageable. "Well, she was so ugly that I thought nobody would claim her who was not her legitimate owner," said the lady, and the point was allowed. There was reason for the care, for there were forty-eight dark hours when famine seemed in immediate prospect, and the stores were sweeping together the last remnants of anything that looked like flour to make a resemblance of bread; fortunately, three delayed ships got in, and the sharp corner was safely turned.

There were, of course, queer incidents. A Turkish woman was discovered, rather to our amazement, in the British camp, and she was, of course, asked what she was doing in that galley. "I came away with the Greeks, because Kemal's men were not drawing fine distinctions," was the instructive answer of the Turkish lady. She was offered a passage home again, but at the offer she sate her down firmly on the six feet square of sacking that constituted her home. "No man on earth shall induce me to go back to that hell again," she said. That is the feeling which undiluted Turkish government burns into the mind of a respectable Turk.

But what sort of accommodation is it that a decent Turk or Greek prefers to their own home under Turkish rule? Imagine the long sheds of an empty factory, with a glass roof and a stone floor, roasting hot by day, freezing cold by night, with damp ever rising from reclaimed ground that is below sea-level. There little family groups huddle together, each in the chalk square marked out on the floor as their domain, fortunate if they have a few planks or a straw mat between them and the stones, or a blanket or two for the night chill. Some organization for cleanliness and sanitation has been forced upon them by camp authorities, and the Government and philanthropy com-

bine to distribute a ration that is at least enough to sustain life—bread and good soup once or twice a day. "You *must* not make them too comfortable," was the advice of an American lady, with a hardness born of long experience. One would think that counsel hardly needed, but the speaker knew her subject, for one of the most awful sides of the refugee status is the infernally demoralizing effect it produces on all subject to it. It produces utter laziness and kills the self-help instinct, so that folk will sit in the comfortless surroundings of the camp and refuse even well-paid work when it is offered. "Where is the relief the papers say is coming from America?" was the encouraging question of one refugee when offered a job; "have you got it?" Some sort of press-gang activity is needed even to get the most necessary camp work done, and an English lady who had spent a hard day distributing 500 blankets to as many needy cases reported at the end that just one recipient had said "Thank you," and that one was a Turk! Verily the Scriptural precedent was outdone for once.

Not that this ugly side of things is confined to refugees. Many individuals (though a small percentage of the whole number) brought in Turkish paper money with them, and the money-changers of Athens were not above making a very mean profit out of the ignorance of the necessitous.

Greek paper money was, not long ago, written down to half its face value, and the currency notes cut in half accordingly. Thus, with a note for fifty drachmas, which has been cut in two, the half that bears "the portrait" (of the founder of the bank) circulates as the equivalent of twenty-five drachmas. The other half is to be retained as a Government bond, redeemable at some unknown date. This is naturally a stumbling-block to newcomers, and at least some money-changers gave out "the wrong half" of the banknotes at full face value to refugees who wished to change Ottoman notes.

Nor was the meanness quite confined to Greeks. It is known that a most generous and necessary gift of food, blankets, medical stores, etc., was sent from England to Greece in a trainload of some ten waggons, "the Red-Cross Train." Those responsible for the provision of the rolling stock took the opportunity of getting rid of some of the craziest of their material as good enough to sell to charitable folk. Hence the officers in charge took three weeks to get across Europe at a time when delay was paid for in human life, and spent most of that time with their heads out of the windows, one on each side, watching for smoke from the perpetual hot axles. Nothing but their energy and devotion got the train to its destination at last.

The train being "Red Cross" and for the benefit of Greeks ruined by the cold policy of Europe, all Powers but one of those whose territory was crossed generously and courteously waived the haulage

charges. France was the exception; she insisted that the full charge must be paid before the train was allowed to move.

Disease presently comes in to complicate the whole problem, for smallpox and ophthalmia were the natural consequences of the conditions of life in the camps. Vaccination is no part of Turkish routine, and Athens is known as one of the most trying of towns for the eyes in all Europe.

The Greek Government grappled with these plagues most skilfully, sending regular oculists to administer treatment to all sufferers, while vaccination was enforced by a rule that no person who did not show the "scratch" was allowed to receive the daily ration. Thus this danger was duly checked, and the feat is really a considerable one, when it is remembered that the great mass of refugees are at that stage of mental evolution when a mother will instinctively hide the stricken child (keeping it in a box, for instance, in the middle of the family), rather than allow it to be isolated. Doctors of a cheerful mind meantime say that the smallpox is so small an evil that it is hardly worth complaining of (does not the Greek word for it mean "blessing"?), as we are pretty sure to have cholera, plague, and typhus among us before the winter is done.

One curious fact we must notice, and it is this: It is the common experience of camp managers that, when they have selected a helper from among the refugees for his good and energetic qualities, the chances are that he or she will turn out to be an Armenian. Those of this nationality have shown far more of the spirit of self-help than have the Greeks, possibly because Greek charity is extended to them, at times, in a rather grudging way. Thus they have gathered themselves in a village outside Athens, which they have built for themselves of mud brick. This implies an understanding of the fact that they must set to and work as soon as they arrived, for mud brick cannot be made in the winter. While Greeks sate still, Armenians made bricks in the sun. The village has its own well, its own school-house—even its own mayor. His worship, who was elected by his fellows, is understood to rule them, for their good, with a rod of iron. The picturesque truth that he was a bandit by profession when at home is, after all, only evidence of initiative and of experience in the management of men!

One other grim fact we must mention as evidence of what went on when Kemal's men had their will of the inhabitants of Smyrna in the terrible days of ravage. There is hardly a young woman in the village who is not now expecting to be a mother, as a result of personal maltreatment at the hands of the Turkish soldiers.

We have tried to put on paper what is now passing before our eyes in Athens, and our story has no doubt the defects, and we hope the advantages also, that come of special nearness to the facts. Now for

the question of the future: What can be done with the great mass of refugees? Absorption in the population of the land may do much, but with the quantity we have to deal with that will not solve the whole question. To continue the metaphor, you speedily reach the saturation point. Hence the Government order, that every village in the land must receive a certain proportion of new inhabitants, is no more than a palliative, though it has, we believe, been loyally accepted and acted on by a very hospitable peasantry. Some sort of general scheme of colonization and settlement on the land seems inevitable, and the question is how this can best be done. The great scheme now ready for execution —viz., the draining and cultivation of the Struma Valley, as designed by Sir John Jackson and Co.—would certainly offer a means of disposal of an even greater number of workers on the land, supposing funds for its execution available, and such complications as "malignant malaria" duly dealt with. A terrible difficulty in this scheme lies in the fact that so great a proportion of the refugees are not only townsfolk, but women and children. All men of military age were detained by Kemal as prisoners, to labour as prisoners-of-war do in Turkey.

When one remembers the fate of the men of Kut, of whom 70 per cent. perished in Turkish hands, and one recalls the boast made by a Turkish officer to the writer, that in making a new railway "he had buried an Armenian under every sleeper of the line for a hundred miles," one wonders what proportion of those whom Kemal has detained will ever see their families again.

Meantime, something must be undertaken soon if it is to be effective. The season of the year is a factor in the problem of settling folk on the land, and the writer has some experience of how very long it takes, even under a British military administration, to move far smaller numbers across a roadless land to the homes marked out for them. Those responsible for the solution of the pressing problem might do well to remember the word of a British administrator in Mesopotamia, when dealing with a like problem: "I will try to manage Joshua's job, and put these people in a promised land; remember, though, I have not got Joshua's powers. I cannot stop the sun."

W. A. WIGRAM.

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS

Please read notes on page 2 of cover very carefully.

ROMAN CONTROVERSIALISTS AND ANGLICAN-ORTHODOX FRIENDSHIP

By the Rev. J. A. DOUGLAS.

"*His Church* [*i.e., the Orthodox*] *formerly rejects Anglican Orders, and shows this in the most efficient way by re-ordaining any Anglican clergyman who wishes to become an Orthodox priest.*"—Dr. A. Fortescue, in *The Tablet*, p. 350, 1920.

"*In the summer of* 1907 *I saw the reception of Mr. Raphael Morgan into the Orthodox Church. He is a coloured gentleman from Jamaica in Anglican Orders. He was first rebaptized, then re-ordained.*"—The same, "The Orthodox Eastern Church," p. 262, 1911.

SOME of our readers may remember the stubbornness with which, even after Professor Comnenos had publicly corrected the mistaken inference, Dr. A. Fortescue, a Roman Catholic clergyman, who has claims to be considered an expert upon the writings of Boethius, maintained throughout 1920 and 1921 that the whole Orthodox Church "condemned" Anglican Ordinations, and that its so doing was proved by its "practice" of re-ordaining Anglican priests.

Unless my memory fails me, he even went as far as to make the Patriarch of Jerusalem declare that nothing could be "done in the matter" unless or until the whole Orthodox Church "reconsidered its *verdict*." It was no use pointing out that his wish had been father to his thought, and that he had developed his assumption by fallacious deduction from misconceived facts. All the King's horses, it was plain, and all the King's men, could not convince him, and he probably remains still ready to advance the same opinion.

Now, this mistake of Dr. A. Fortescue is quite explicable. His book, quotations from which serve us here as texts, labours indeed under the great disadvantage of considerable inaccuracy of detail, but it labours also under the still greater disadvantage that just where its information is accurate, there it is most misleading. In other words, whether it be from the fact that his mind is so accustomed to move along certain fixed, furrowed lines that he can conceive nothing possible outside them, or whether it be from an eager propagandist zeal which is sanguine to believe that things *must* be as it is desirable that they should be, he appears to be as unable to understand the genius of Orthodoxy, or the process of Orthodox mentality and action, as if the Orthodox were Moslem and Malay. As a Russian, who actually read the book, put it: "To read Dr. A. Fortescue on the Orthodox Church is like reading the disquisition of a mediæval Chinese traveller on the Europe which he visited."

That, as has been said, is no doubt due in part to a specialized and

narrowed caste of mind which scouts at everything outside its own groove, but it seems also to be due to the enthusiasm of the ecclesiastical campaigner.

Dr. A. Fortescue, it is true, has protested that (Roman) "Catholics" are indifferent as to the relations of Anglicans with the Orthodox (see *The Tablet*, April 10, 1920). None the less, and strange though such waste of his time would seem, he has devoted himself very generously, in season and out of season, to demonstrate to whomsoever may read him, on the one hand, that the Orthodox reject and despise the Anglican Church, and, on the other, that the Orthodox Church is altogether unworthy of Anglican sympathy. Wherever Anglicans and Orthodox meet, like a "chiel taking notes," he is present in spirit in the *couloirs* to catch what news he can, and to draw the moral that East and West may meet, but that Anglican and Orthodox can never, never come together—unless and until they are united in a common submission to the Papacy. The same phenomenon may be noticed in other Roman writers—such as Fr. Joseph Rickaby, S.J., and Fr. Vincent McNabb—who have recently developed a benevolent and anxious interest in the Anglican-Orthodox *entente*.

It is noticeable even in a book published[1] in Paris the other day by Père Michel d'Herbigny, S.J., Editor of "Etudes," Director of the Papal Instituto Orientale at Rome—a book which breathes, indeed, the noblest aspirations towards Christian unity, but which is not only based on information derived at second-hand from sources of such a type as the writings mentioned above, but which (the pity of it!) is shockingly subredolent of their atmosphere.

It is thus that M. Michel d'Herbigny and his exemplars in England give an impression—

(1) To the *general reader*, that the Orthodox Church is first and last a political institution, and Anglican-Orthodox friendship the product of Downing Street or Venizelist intrigue.

(2) To the *Anglo-Catholic*, that the Orthodox are as supercilious in their consideration of all things Anglican as the most thorough British Papalists, and that those who labour to prepare the *terrain* for an Anglican-Orthodox union address themselves to an *Opus Penelopeium*.

(3) To the *Anglo-Protestant*, that the Orthodox are more Papalist than the Society of Jesus.

(4) To the *Orthodox*, that the Anglican Church is a hopeless Protestant sect, any friendship with which involves contamination.

(5) To the *Papalist*, that there is no need to worry. The Anglican is isolated. The Orthodox is isolated. Sooner or later both must submit to the Vatican—or perish utterly.

[1] "L'Anglicanisme et l'Orthodoxie," Paris, 1922. A review will appear in our next issue.

There is such a folly as over-eagerness; and in regard to those from whose information Père d'Herbigny writes, we may use his own words in regard to the seventeenth-century attempt of Anglican and Orthodox to achieve union—*vains efforts!*

Perhaps the greatest human contribution towards the growing Anglican and Orthodox *rapprochement* is the impression given by Dr. A. Fortescue and his collaborators that the Papalists dread nothing more than that it should be strengthened, and desire nothing more than to destroy it.

In exemplification of all this I will adduce a typical passage and ask the reader to compare it with my texts. In "L'Anglicanisme," etc., p. 33, all unwittingly no doubt, M. d'Herbigny thus gravely misrepresents the attitude of the Orthodox theologians who were present at Bonn in 1874:[1] "L'Anglicanisme se montrait partout accommodant avec les Orientaux. Il ne leur demandait, en réalité, qu'une seule concession, la reconnaissance des ordinations anglicanes. Jamais il n'obtint la réponse désirée. A Bonn, en 1874, les orthodoxes rejetèrent l'article 90, qui leur était proposé: nous reconnaissons que l'Eglise d'Angleterre et les Eglises qui en dérivent, ont gardé la succession épiscopale sans interruption. *Les théologiens orthodoxes, en Grèce comme en Russie, ont jusqu'à présent nié cette validité.*"[2]

Poor Dr. A. Fortescue! Poor Père d'Herbigny! A puff of fact and down tumbles the card-castle built with such naïveté, just because its lowest tier is a distortion. Since they and their confreres wrote so boldly, the Œcumenical Patriarchate has recognized Anglican Ordinations as on a parity with Papalist, and no less a person than the chief secretary of the Holy Synod, the Metropolitan of Vrioula, has exposed their blundering.

To realize their basic misconception and the irrelevancy of the structure reared on it by them, one has only to compare what he writes in the official journal of the Œcumenical Patriarchate.

He says: "While, as we have seen, the Western Church has pronounced from time to time on the question of Anglican Ordinations and has proclaimed them to be invalid, the Eastern Church until recently had never expressed an official opinion for or against them. When at the Bonn Conference in 1874 the Old Catholics drafted the proposition, 'We accept the fact that the Anglican Church and the Churches deriving from it have preserved the episcopal succession,' the Greek and Russian representatives of the Eastern Church *avoided expressing an opinion on the ground that the question had been examined neither by the Greek Hierarchy nor by the Russian.*[3] Only theologians of

[1] See also the quotations from the records of the Bonn Conference made in the CHRISTIAN EAST, October, 1922, pp. 116, 117.

[2] My italics.

[3] My italics.

either Church, such as the Russian Philaret, Platon, Maltzew, Sokolov, and Storamusky, and such as the Greek Alexander, Bishop of Syros and Tenos, Damalas, Damillos, Basileides, Ambrases, Androutsos, Komnenos, etc., after studying the matter, expressed personally their opinion for Anglican Ordinations or against them. It is true that Anglican clergymen, and especially of countries where there are Orthodox without churches or priests, addressed enquiry from time to time to the Œcumenical Patriarchate, asking for information as to whether sacramental acts, such as Baptism, etc., ministered by them to the Orthodox mentioned above, would be repudiated by the Church of Constantinople. But it is also true that the Holy Synod referred all enquiries or requests of the kind in every case to its special committees. In considering them, these committees necessarily considered at the same time the question of the validity of Anglican Ordinations before giving an opinion on a particular point. But in all this the Church avoided delivering any verdict, and simply laid it down that the question was properly a matter for the common consideration of all the Autocephalous Churches. But although the Church had expressed no opinion on the question, it had avoided no less any re-ordination whatever of Anglicans; and it was therefore that, when in 1909 complaints were made of the recent ordination of the negro Raphael Morgan, on the ground that he was an Anglican priest, the Holy Synod answered correctly that the person named had adhered to Orthodoxy, and been ordained, *not as an Anglican, but as a Methodist*" (*Ekklesiastike Aletheia*, August 27, 1922).

If the reader will compare the passages quoted from MM. Fortescue and D'Herbigny with that of the Metropolitan he will see the difference.

THE SERB PATRIARCHATE

(Translated from *Ekklesiastike Aletheia*, 8/21 October, 1922.)

EVER since the Balkan War ecclesiastical and political circles in Belgrad have been occupied with the problem of the adaptation of the governmental organization of the Serbian Church both to meet the requirements of its extension and the needs of its people. The World War, however, postponed direct action and decision in the matter until December, 1920, when the Church's governmental organization was enacted in detail. It includes the following distinct elements:

(1) *The Great Synod of Hierarchs*, meeting at least once a year and with the right of final decision in regard to all questions of an internal nature.

(2) *The Patriarch* in association with a Synod, consisting of four

members, in constant session, and possessing the highest executive and controlling power of the Church.

(3) *The Bishops*, of whom four are Metropolitans (Belgrad, Cettinje, Skopeia, and Serajevo), and twenty-two are bishops (Nisch, Timok, Zicha, Savatz, Istip, Vitolia, Ochrida, Pasko-Presrend, Pozarebatz, Kotaron, Ipek, Nixe, Dalmatia, Herzegovina, Vania-Luka, Svornik, Stremskokarlovicz, Vatska, Vudimska, Karlovatska, Temisvarion, Vrhatzi).

(4) *The Great Council*, consisting of clergy and dealing with matters of a material character affecting the Church.

In regard to legal courts—(a) *the highest Ecclesiastical Court*, considering appeals from episcopal diocesan courts, and (b) *Episcopal Diocesan Courts*, serving both as disciplinary councils to deal with the clergy under given conditions and also to deal with divorce—it should be noted that marriage questions are still under the jurisdiction of the Church.

For training the clergy there are two Theological Schools (Belgrad and Agram) and six seminaries (Belgrad, Serajevo, Karlowicz, Prezren, Cettinje, and Vitolia).

A matter that occupies the anxious attention of the Ministry of Public Worship is the material maintenance of the clergy. It is hoped that this question may be dealt with in a satisfactory manner, so that, free from material cares, the Serb clergy may consecrate itself to its heavy but delicate task.

A CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE

THE resignation of the See of Gloucester after its tenure for seventeen years by the Right Rev. Edgar Charles Sumner Gibson is necessarily a noteworthy event for our movement. A fine scholar, a wise and withal conservative theologian of the first rank, and a prudent statesman, Dr. Gibson was profoundly interested in Eastern Christianity before his accession to the episcopate, and, so far as his diocesan office has allowed, has taken an active part in the development of relations between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches. Thus, during the 1920 Lambeth Conference he presided over the Committee of Bishops which received and conferred with the Constantinople Delegation; while last year he became a patron of the Association. The increased leisure which he will now have will, we may be sure, be used by him to the benefit of the work of the Archbishop's Eastern Churches Committee, so that the loss of the Gloucester diocese will be the gain of our movement.

The above had hardly been written when we read the announcement of Dr. Arthur Cayley Headlam's nomination by the Crown as Bishop Gibson's successor at Gloucester. That is a nomination which will create profound satisfaction throughout every section of the Church of England. If it were only as an academic of the highest rank and a theologian of the greatest authority, Dr. Headlam would possess those qualifications for which Churchmen look instinctively, and which they prize especially in their Bishops. But great though is his reputation as teacher and author, Dr. Headlam's is not an academic mind *pur et simple*. Few men have shown finer constructive and administrative ability than he showed in those fourteen years when, as Principal of King's College and member of the Senate, he exercised a shaping influence on the University of London, or in those later four years during which he has remodelled the Divinity Faculty at Oxford. Moreover, with his singular power of concentration, he has thought deeply on such varied problems as Church finance and reunion. To us, however, his nomination is a matter of peculiarly happy augury, because, since some thirty years ago he acted as the vigorous secretary of the Eastern Church Association, he has never ceased to take an active interest in and to keep in close touch with the Eastern Churches. Apart from his writings on the subject and his frequent visits to the Near East, our movement is greatly indebted to him, not only for what he has done for the E.C.A., the A. and E.A., and the Archbishop's Eastern Churches Committee, but also for his unceasing interest and support of everything which could further Anglican and Eastern-Orthodox friendship. Thus during the war he extended his help very effectively to the Serbian Students Aid Committee; he has taken a prominent part in the various conferences which have been held with Orthodox hierarchs and theologians; has entertained Orthodox visitors to Oxford; and only last year drafted with Canon Brightman those "Suggested Terms of Intercommunion" for the E.C.C., which most of us are agreed will serve admirably as the basis of negotiation on the Anglican side in the near future. That all that he has written of a constructive character—*e.g.*, in his remarkable and inspiring Bampton Lectures on Reunion—does not meet with universal agreement is inevitable in a Church such as the Anglican. But there will be no dissentient to the proposition that no choice of an English Bishop has ever seemed wiser, or to the anticipation that his episcopate will be rich and fruitful in service to the English Church and the whole of Christendom.

We congratulate our movement upon the appointment of Sir Samuel Hoare, M.P., to be Minister for Air in the Bonar Law Government. Sir Samuel is, of course, a well-known Eastern expert and a member of the Archbishop's Committee. That the new House of Commons is rich in sympathizers with Eastern Christianity is a thing for which to be thankful in these times.

It must be a matter of intense gratitude and satisfaction to all Anglicans that last September and October, those two shameful months when, with rare exceptions, in its desire to overthrow the Lloyd George Government, the whole motley rout of the British Press and the British politician screamed in triumph at the Turkish victories, the *Church Times* had the courage to speak out plainly and fearlessly on the right side. Always well informed, the editor used his incisive pen to great effect, as the writer has reason to know, not only in checking pro-Turk propaganda among the electorate, but in influencing leading politicians and bureaucrats.

All of us felt dismay and pain at the execution of M. Gounaris and his colleagues. In saying this we venture to pass no judgment as to their culpability or their innocence. The dispassionate judge of the future must decide that. The thing which seems to us to be indefensible is that the Provisional Government of Colonel Gonatas should have court-martialled its political opponents under martial law and have shot them. The Greek nation is not to be blamed in the matter, but in our judgment the British Minister was rightly withdrawn in protest. It is a strange twirl of the wheel, however, that only ten weeks after Mr. Bonar Law had given the signal to overthrow the Coalition Government because it had taken isolated action to save Constantinople from massacre, his own Government should have taken its isolated action apparently to save Prince Andrew of Greece. M. Poincaré, however, does not seem to have frowned this time, perhaps because he now sees his way clear to the left bank of the Rhine, perhaps because M. Franklin-Bouillon had made no bargain with the Greek Revolutionary Committee.

This extract from the *Church Times* should be noted: "On Sunday week, as we learn from Constantinople, Refet Pasha made his devotions in St. Sophia, and afterwards addressed a Mohammedan crowd from the tribune of the muezzin, saying: 'In this glorious shrine which the conqueror gave us, and which is filled with the divine light, we kneel once again in thankfulness. Here we shall always worship, and we are once again confident that the voices raised from the minarets of this mighty shrine will be only the cry, "Allah is great!" As long as the world lasts this shrine will be ours.' Time will show. That one opportunity has been missed does not mean that all will be." And yet, we venture to add, there are British and American people who will tell you that the Kemalists are strangers to fanaticism and very tolerant. In regard to Refet's boast, we fear that what the Rev. J. A. Douglas wrote in his "Redemption of St. Sophia" is the fact of the matter. There can be no comity and amity between Eastern Christians and the Turks until the latter abandon their claim to innate superiority and restore the Mother Church of Eastern Christendom to its true owners.

The following is taken from an article by the Rev. K. Kanellopulos in *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Κῆρυξ* of October 1, dealing with the memorandum signed on March 24, 1920, at Lambeth by a conjoint representative committee of Churchmen and Free Churchmen: "Concerning the Sacraments, it agrees that at least two Sacraments are expressly witnessed to in the New Testament. . . . It makes no mention of the others, except of Holy Order, as to which, though it does not give it the name of a Sacrament, it leaves no doubt by the characteristics which it ascribes to it that it receives it in the same way as does the Orthodox Church."

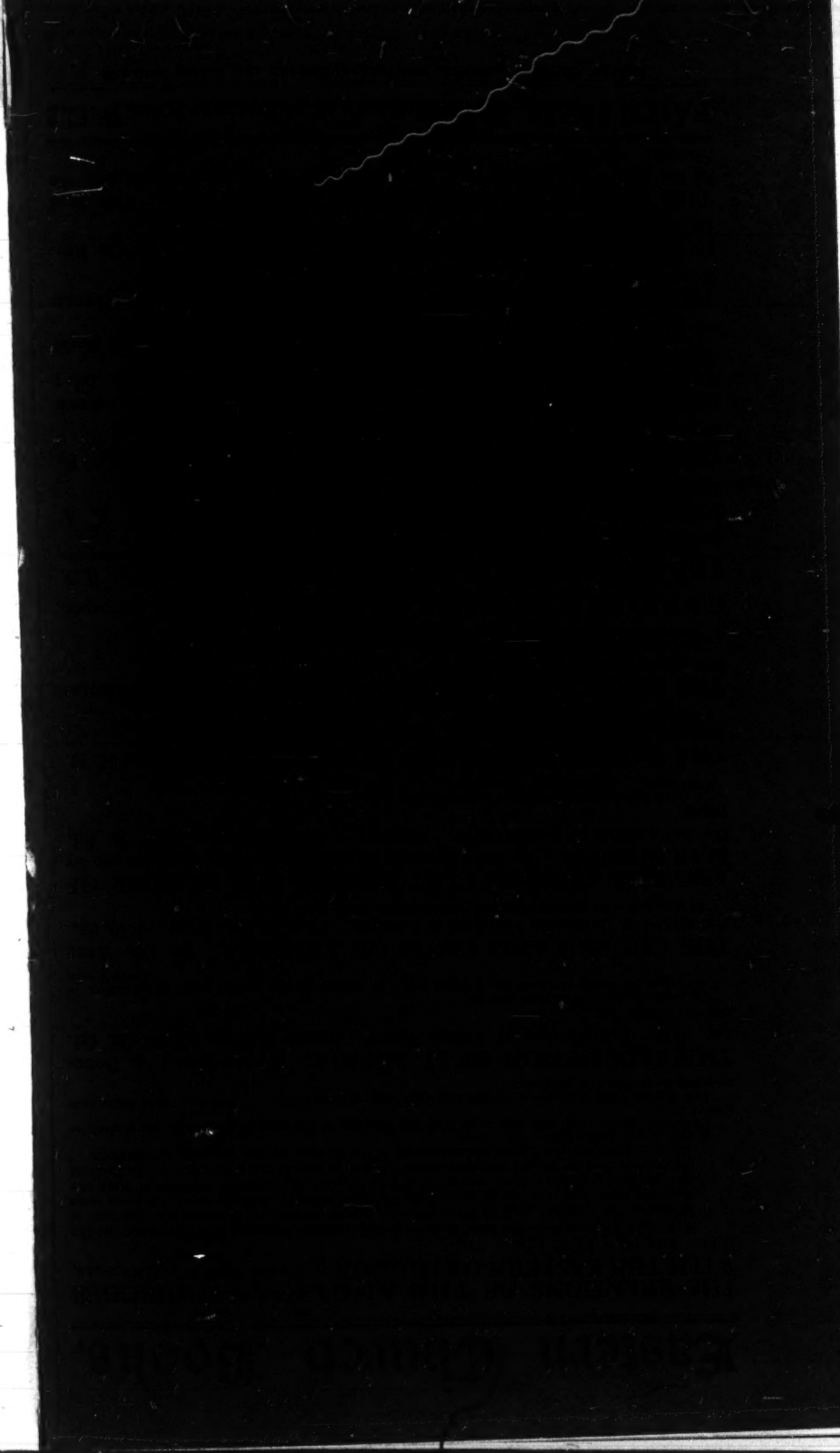
Memorial Service at Smyrna.—On Saturday, December 2, at 11 a.m., a Solemn Requiem was sung in the Church of St. John the Baptist, Holland Road. The service was arranged by the Scout Society of the Sons of the Faith in memory of the 2,000 Greek scouts who perished in the massacre of Smyrna. The clergy of the church were the ministers, contingents from various troops in the Society were present, and A.E.A. was represented by the General Secretary, who acted as one of the cantors.

The Bishop of Gibraltar's account of his visit to Constantinople, as published in the *Church Times* of November 5, is not only an important but an extraordinarily interesting document. Not only does his Lordship possess the *flair* of the historical diarist, but he had the singular fortune to arrive on the Golden Horn just when Ismet was pushing up against the barbed wire at Chanak. Could any phrase be more graphic than the simple words in which he writes of Meletios IV.: "His exposition of the state of things in the Near East was most dignified as well as most acute. One felt that one was listening to a man who had been through a terrible grief, but who sees a still greater sorrow drawing near. Yet he is neither crushed nor distracted by it at all, and this *not because he is callous, but because he is strong*. One beautiful turn of thought let one see in part the secret of his strength. He applied to his Church corporately St. Paul's statement, 'The more the outer man decays, so much the more are we renewed in the inner man'; and his face lit up with a rarely beautiful smile. If he remains here after the Kemalists come, his life is worth little or nothing. They will treat him as they did the Smyrna Chrysostom the other day, but he will remain here if he sees that by so doing he will at all help his people, or if by flight he would make it easier for Kemal to carry out his cherished design for breaking up the Constantinople Patriarchate. That design is full of subtlety and more dangerous than any direct brutal persecution could ever be. He has got certain renegade and very ignorant Ottoman Greeks to sell the pass. They are being organized into a sort of pseudo-native Turkish Orthodox Church which is to replace the present one. Its head is a certain renegade priest, and if the Patriarch flees to Mount Athos this man will be installed as Patriarch, the rights and privileges (such as they are) which belong by prescription to the present Church will be passed on to this new body, and

LIBRARY NEW YORK

no other Christians will be allowed to exist in Turkey. . . . It will be a far more insidious blow to Christianity than any ordinary persecution could ever be. In the coming Peace Conference he hoped and *prayed* that the Allies, and especially England, would not desert the cause of the Christians in Turkey. . . . He spoke also with cordial appreciation of the kindness of the Archbishop of Canterbury and his sympathy. He touched also on the question of Orders, of which he spoke as of one that was quite settled, and settled in order to press on to a far closer union and mutual recognition which in principle the recognition of our Orders carried with it. Our parting was even more cordial than our greeting had been. It is not many men that could face the position that he is in, of not only acute danger to life, but of the burden of decisions of equal difficulty and importance resting on him, with such calm and dignity and self-mastery." Posterity will be grateful to the Bishop of Gibraltar for his pen portrait of Meletios IV. at this supreme moment. Meanwhile we may well be thankful for the present bishop who represents the Anglican Church in the Near East. After leaving Constantinople Dr. Gregg visited Belgrad, Sofia, Bucharest, and while we write (in mid-December) is at Athens. We shall hope for his own account of his doings in those centres. It will be pregnant with interest.

Incidentally, we have not yet seen the English of his lordship's speech to the Patriarch, an important document which we hope to be able to print later. A Greek translation appeared in *Ekklesiastike Aletheia*. The Patriarch's answer will be found above, p. 149.

The present relations between the Œcumenical Patriarchate and the Church of Greece may be summarized as follows: In 1917 Theokletos, Metropolitan of Athens, was deposed by the highest Dikasterion of the Church of Greece. In 1921 he resumed his throne by the authority of the Government, his successor Meletios being exiled. In 1921 the reconstituted Dikasterion tried and condemned Meletios, who had none the less been elected Œcumenical Patriarch, as an intruder. The Government of Greece and the Synod of Athens denounced Meletios' election to Constantinople as null and void, and broke relations with the Patriarchate. In October last the Greek Government reviewed this action, recognized Meletios, and resumed relations. It is understood that the Athens Synod is willing to admit that the condemnation of Meletios was uncanonical, and that a fuller and higher court may be formed to revise the judgment on Theokletos. Pending such action, however, the Œcumenical Patriarchate cannot, for obvious canonical reasons, resume full, normal relations with the Church of Greece.

It is reported that a Russian University may be formed *pro tempore* at Warsaw. If so, Professor Glubokovsky, another of whose informative articles we publish this month, will leave Belgrad to teach in its Theological Faculty.